

**MUSLIM SHRINES OF KASHMIR
AND THEIR IMPACT ON SOCIETY
(1857 — 1947 A. D.)**

BY

GHULAM HASSAN MIR

SUPERVISOR

DR. Z. L. JALA

***Thesis Submitted for the fulfilment of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)
Degree in History***

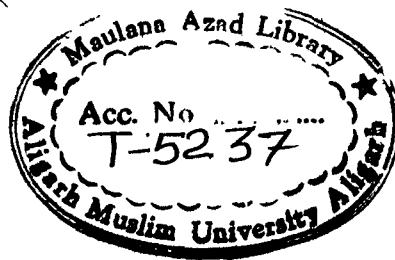
**Post Graduate Department of History
THE UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR
SRINAGAR — 190006**

OCTOBER, 1989

DONATED BY
PROF. Z. U. SIDDIQUI
DEPT. OF MICROBIOLOGY, A.A.U.



RECEIVED-2000
5-8



27 JUN 2000



T5237

CERTIFICATE:

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of Ghulam Hassan Mir entitled Muslim Shrines of Kashmir and their Impact on Society (1857-1947), carried out under my supervision embodies the work of the candidate. The research work is of original nature and has not been submitted for a Ph.D. programme so far. It is also certified that the scholar has put in required attendance in the Department of History, University of Kashmir. The thesis is in satisfactory literary form and worthy of consideration for a Ph.D. degree.


(Dr. Z. L. Jala)
SUPERVISOR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

•••

I consider it my privilege to thank all those people who helped and encouraged me in many ways in the completion of the present work.

At the very outset I humbly kneel before Allah whose grace has throughout inspired and sustained me in moments of severe stress and strain. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my reverend supervisor Dr. Z. L. Jala (Ex-Reader, Post-Graduate Department of History, University of Kashmir), without whose inspiring guidance and invaluable suggestions it would not have been possible for me to prepare the present work.

I wish to express profound sense of gratitude to my teachers, Professor A. Q. Rafiqi, (Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences), Dr. Muhammad Ishaq Khan, (Head of the Post-Graduate Department of History), Dr. A. M. Mattoo, (Director, Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir), Dr. Madhvi Yasin, (Reader, Department of History, University of Kashmir), Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Wani (Reader, Department of History) and Dr. Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw (Lecturer, Department of History) for the encouragement I received from them.

My interviews with a number of people in the field benefited me much. Among them mention may be made of Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki (Ex-Director, Radio Kashmir, Srinagar), Master Ghulam Ahmad Zuhra (Collector and mujavir of Khanqah-i-Mualla), Mr. Muhammad Amin Farooqi (Naib-Imam of Ziarat Hazratbal), Mr.

Ghulam Nabi (Resident of Chrar-i-Sharif), Haji Ghulam Muhammad alias Niama (Resident of Zakura), Mr. Muhammad Khalil Wadoo (Excise Department) and many others who helped me in the entire course of my study. I am immensely thankful to all of them.

My thanks are also due to my colleagues especially Miss Shirin Bakshi, Mr. Abdul Hamid Rather and Mr. Bihari Lal Bhat.

I am also thankful to the members of the non-teaching staff of the Department of History and staff of the Seminar Library. I am also grateful to Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Dar, Head Assistant, Department of History who took great pains in typing out the dissertation without any delay. Mehraj-ud-Din Calligraphist, Department of Persian deserves my thanks for writing Kashmiri, Persian, Arabic and Urdu extracts of my thesis.

I have no words to express my thanks to my cousin Mr. Muhammad Maqbool Mir and Mr. Muhammad Ismail and his all the members of the family ^{particularly Mr. G.R. Rasool} who gave me every comfort and affection and thereby enabled me to complete the work in time.

Last but not least, I am extremely thankful to my parents and brothers particularly Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Mir who provided me with every facility which I needed in pursuing the research.

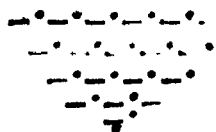


(G. H. MIR)

C O N T E N T S:

Acknowledgement

<u>CHAPTERS:</u>	<u>TITLE OF THE CHAPTER:</u>	<u>PAGE NO:</u>
	INTRODUCTION	1 - 9
I.	Shrines and their History	10 - 48
II.	Socio-Cultural Impact of the Shrines	49 - 130
	(a) Faith in Shrines	
	(b) Faith in Relics	
	(c) Fairs and Festivals	
	(d) Amusements and Recreations	
	(e) Communal Harmony	
	(f) Superstitions	
III.	Emergence of Socio-Religious Classes	131 - 173
IV.	Impact of Shrines on Education	174 - 216
V.	Political Impact of Shrines	217 - 238
VI.	Economic Impact of Shrines	239 - 252
	Conclusion	253 - 255
	Appendices	256 - 280
	Bibliography	281 - 294



I N T R O D U C T I O N :

INTRODUCTION:

• • •

Islam was established in Arabia by Prophet (p.b.u.h.) himself. The Caliphs took pains to spread it where-ever they could reach with the message of Holy Quran and Prophet (p.b.u.h.) The Turks did a Yeoman's job in spreading the faith in Asia, South East Asia, China, Central Asia, Africa and as far as spanish Granada. Islam remained pristine to the believers and the faithful but the neo-converts who embraced Islam carried over with them certain institutions and practices which were un-Islamic in the content of the Quran and the Haidh. In Kashmir the transformation was comperatively peaceful. In this process, even after the conversion of people to Islam, they accepted the tradition of Islam as they received it with its institutions which had been formed in its march across Persia and Central Asia. One of the institutions that Islam had come to have in these parts was the shrines and its concomitants. These shrines were established for enshrining a relic or as tombs or hospices.

• • People of Kashmir, irrespective of their caste and creed have been known for their spirit of tolerance and amity. The establishment of Muslim rule and spread of Islam brought about a major change in Kashmir during 14th and 15th centuries. There was a period of strain and stress but on the whole the tradition of mutual understanding, and respect for one another in

the direction of integration in the face of forces of disintegration. The Sufis and Rishis played no ordinary role in building up the atmosphere of cordiality and amity between the two communities of Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir.

The founding of Jammu and Kashmir State by Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846 A.D. introduced a new phenomenon into the social milieu of Kashmir. The Kashmir now came into contact with the Dogra, belonging to a different socio-cultural stream. Even so the Jammu people were not unacquainted with the tradition of the Muslim shrines and the role played by these. A couple of centres were established by Muslim saints in Jammu city itself where the people still observe the ritual of Peer Muridi. The matter did not end with that. The Dogras extended their political hold over frontier territories of Ladakh, Kargil and Gilgit and the problem of socio-cultural and religious intercourse assumed a new dimension. However, there were areas in the frontier where Islam had already established itself and a few Muslim shrines had come up in that area as well. In this entire process, the shrines of Kashmir played a very important role and had a great impact on social, cultural, economic and religious conditions of Kashmir. The project covers the period from 1857 A. D. to 1947 A.D. This is precisely the time when Kashmir was on the anvil of modern age. The close of 19th century marked the beginning of new trends in education which gave rise to new thinking. The acceptance of the 'new' which was in agreement with traditions of Islam

kindled the spirit of freedom and led to the rise of political awakening among the people. The shrines and some of the mutwalis played an inspiring role in promoting a movement against the oppressive rule of Dogras. It would be an interesting feature of the study to determine the extent to which these centres spread knowledge and generated spirit of tolerance and superstition and in course of time these shrines became institutions of exploitation also.

This aspect would have to be examined in the context of the sources available. Thus it is hoped that the results of the proposed project would come to embody an interesting study shedding light on various aspects of life which received the unmistakable and ineffacable impact of the shrine culture ~~to~~ hitherto unknown to people.

The chapterisation of the project has been given the following order:-

1. Shrines and their history;
2. Socio-cultural impact of the shrine;
3. Emergence of socio-religious classes;
4. Impact of shrines on Education;
5. Political impact of the shrines;
6. Economic impact of the shrines.

A chapter-wise summary of the contents of the project is appended below:-

Chapter -- Ist

The chapter gives the clear picture of the history of the shrines in Kashmir. It exclusively deals with the history and origin of some important Muslim shrines in Kashmir. It makes an interesting study to follow the history of these shrines and to explain the importance and influence of the relics housed in these shrines. Besides the history a study of architecture of these shrines has been made here.

Chapter-- 2nd:

The chapter deals with their (shrines) impact on the social and cultural aspects of the lives of Kashmiris. Their socio-cultural impact has been so profound that a true and real picture of the society cannot emerge, unless it is viewed in the background of shrines and their contribution. The unbounded faith in shrines and relics housed in them has given birth to many customs and traditions which are at length dealt with in this chapter. The fairs and festivals (Urs) are an important feature of the shrines. It is the nature of celebrating the festivals motivated by the local influence which have given birth to amusements and recreations in the dull lives of Kashmiris makes an interesting study and, therefore, a portion of this chapter has been devoted to the study of these ceremonial functions. To the critical study of these celebrations has been added the practice of reciting the various psalms and hymns (Daruds, Naths, Waziaf and Aurds). The main contribution of the shrines and the

celebration of festivals has given rise to amity and brotherhood among various communities of Kashmir. The teachings of Sufis have left a deep imprint on the minds of people of Kashmir and has taught them to live in tolerance of one another. Even after the demise of the saints the shrines continued to promote the spirit of cordiality and friendship among various communities. This aspect too has been touched in this chapter. However, the shrines and the mujavirs have played a negative role too. The negative aspects of their role has revolved round their efforts at promoting blind belief for their ulterior motive, which has unfortunately led to the growth of superstition.

Chapter -- 3rd:

The chapter deals with two emerging classes one as vested interest class and the second as a reactionary class. The worst part played by the vested interest class at the shrines particular among people in general has been highlighted here. The exploitation of ignorant masses and gullible pilgrims to the shrines by mujavirs is a sad commentary on the working of the shrines and its custodians who were charged with preaching Islam and preserving the healthy traditions of sainthood. This fact of the mujavirs has been critically examined here. An attempt has been made to study the rise of reactional movement. The reactionary trend manifested itself in the birth of revivalism. This development has been brought within the focus in this chapter.

Chapter -- 4th

The chapter deals with the role of shrines in spreading education. The Khanqah system has proved as an effective means of spreading education particularly non-formal type of preaching Islam. The Khanqah's and the Maqtabas imparting education contributed, to some extent, towards the eradication of ignorance and superstitions.

Chapter -- 5th

The chapter deals with the role of shrines in bringing about political consciousness among the people of Kashmir. A handful of educated mutwalis made positive contribution in arousing the dumb and oppressed spirit of the masses and kindled in them the passion to fight for their emancipation from exploitation and oppression.

Chapter -- 6th:

In this, the concluding chapter of the thesis, an effort has been made to bring out the impact of the shrines on the economic life of the people. Moreover, the contribution of the shrines towards the process of urbanization has also been examined. Last but not least shrines have been spotlighted as the main source of income to a section of business community. In this study the beggars have not been neglected. It was customary in Kashmir to exchange gifts and presents between the parties bound to matrimonial alliances. These various festivals and fairs (Urs) were the choicest occasions for such transections to take place.

A review on some prominent works of our period:

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan:

Among the histories of Kashmir written in Persian, Pir Hasan Shah's four volume work is by far most important and relevant source used extensively in the complexion of this present project. Hasan seems to have taken great pains in writing the history which through out maintains a high standard of historical sense and impartiality. He narrates the events rationally and methodically. His remarkable composition giving, as far as possible accurate details in respect of topography, other physical features and history in general. The first volume of his Tarikh deals with the geography and refers to the location of several places of worship. The second volume deals with political history. However, in the present study political history has been left out, therefore, not much use of this volume has been made. His third volume is extensively on Sufis, Saints, Rishis, Saiyids, Sadats, Mujzubs and Ulama. He has also mentioned about the relics and their history. Obviously, this particular volume of Hasan's work being most relevant to the present subject has been used extensively.

2. Tarikh-i-Kabir:

Haji Mohi-ud-Din, its author, was a Kashmiri who lived in Mohalla Saraibal, in Srinagar. He was younger contemporary of Pir Hasan. He wrote the history in 1310 A.H. (1892 A.D.). This

work is a running summary in one handy volume of political, religious and literary history of Kashmir. It also deals with the faith of Kashmiries towards the saints and sufis and their relics. This work has been found useful.

3. The Valley of Kashmir:

This work is of tremendous importance as it has covered many aspects of the life of Kashmiris of the period under review. He has discussed the superstitions, social customs and the faith of people in relics and shrines. He made a thorough study of the people in villages and collected the information on very rational and objective basis. This excellent work can truly be called the encyclopaedia of Kashmir.

4. Basharat-ul-Mumineen:

This work was compiled by Moulvi Anwar Shah in 1309 A.H. but was published in 1360 A.H. This book deals in the social customs like the worship of the saints and their graves and other superstitious practices. This is the only work in Kashmiri language which refers to the activities of the founder of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement in Kashmir.

5. Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Kashmir:

Mahammad-ud-Din Fauq, the author of this work, was a Kashmiri, settled in Lahore. He wrote extensively in Urdu on the geography, history and the institution of Pir-Muridi. His works give detailed information and history of various communities and well known families of Kashmir. He also gives some information about the mujavirs of the shrines.

6. Kashir:

G. M. D. Sufi, began composing his work Kashir in 1925 A.D. and completed it in 1949 A.D. It is a voluminous record in two parts giving achievements of Kashmiris since early times till of 1940. He has ^{del} in detail with the superstitions and social evils. The work also touches upon the architecture of Kashmir in general and of religious structure in particular.

A part from using the above works as the main source, the material gathered through interviews during the field work has also been resorted to-- in the preparation of this thesis.

CHAPTER -- IST

Shrines and their History:

...

The shrines and ziarats dedicated to various saints and Rishis of Kashmir, together with the relics housed in them have played a dominant role in the religious and socio-cultural life of the people. (These shrines were looked upon as centres of deliverance by the ignorant and the superstitious people of the Valley who were always in need and want and were usually in the grip of a disease or calamity.)

From very early times the people of Kashmir in streams and swarms flocked to these shrines to seek one favour or the other. The people gave their best and donated their share of money and often their labour to raise the shrine-- Khangah, rouza. This is how Kashmir came to possess a large number of well constructed and beautiful shrines (ziarats), hospices (Khangahs) and tombs (rouzas). The architecture of these structures reflected a gradual shift from the work of masonry to that of carpentry and timber. The style was by and large indo-saracenic, sometimes showing conspicuous traits of Kashmir and Mughal styles of architecture. However, at places particularly the roofs of these shrines showed traces of Chinese style too.

Khangah-i- Bulbul Shah:

Saiyid Sharaf-ud-Din popularly known in Kashmir as Bulbul Shah, man of high spirituality came to Kashmir during the reign of Raja Suha Deva (1301--1319). It was his spiritual attainment and self abnegation that first influenced and then motivated the

then King Rinchana to embrace Islam at his hands.¹ Thus the credit of initiation of conversion to Islam goes to Saiyid Bulbul Shah. Rinchana became the prominent disciple of Bulbul Shah. He was rechristened as Sadr-ud-Din.

It was under the instructions of Saiyid Sharaf-ud-Din that a three-storeyed Khanqah was constructed by Rinchana (Sultan Sadr-ud-Din) at a large cost on the right bank of river Jhelum, some hundred metres away from Aali Kadal on the western side. Rinchana named the Khanqah after Saiyid Sharaf-ud-Din alias Bulbul Shah's name. Obviously, with the construction of Khanqah-i-Bulbul Shah, the tradition of formal Khanqah building came to be founded in Kashmir.² A langar was attached to Khanqah where food was given to the devotees. This langar was functional upto Chak regime³ and there is no reference to show whether or not the langar survived thereafter. It was due to the attachment of langar that the area surrounding the Khanqah came to be called Bulbul

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, pp. 316--317. Rinchana, Ladakhi had offered to become a Hindu but the Brahmans, out of Sheer parochiatism, did not allow him to join their fold. Thereupon he declared that he would accept the religion of the person whom he would see early next morning, he saw Saiyid Sharaf-ud-Din offering morning prayers to God. Rinchana was impressed. He approached the Saiyid and offered to accept his faith and thus Bulbul Shah converted him into Islam. P. N. K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 288.
2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 317.
3. Ibid., p. 323.

Langar now mispronounced as Bulbul lanker.¹ The king bestowed some villages, as jagir on the khanqah for meeting its expenses on account of langar 'khana (free kitchen) and servants and mutwalis.² Bulbul Shah passed away during Udayanao Deva's regime³ (1323--1338), and was buried in the compound of the Khanqah on river side.

Khanqah-i-Bulbul Shah, erected wholly in wood, caught fire in 1604 A.D. during Mirza Akbar Ali's time, a Mughal Governor. This time the loyal and faithful disciples (murids) of Bulbul Shah reconstructed the khanqah in wooden structure painstakingly.⁴ Malik Haider Chaudora states that the old and the basic khanqah was existent upto 1620 A.D..⁵ In 1885, the khanqah alongwith its compound was taken over by Archaeological Department of India. It was after some time that the khanqah was constructed a new. The present khanqah is single storey. Its material consists of brick and wood.

-
1. The place was originally called Diddamatha which a little later came to be called as Didamar. Finally, with the attachment of langar and to perpetuate the memory of Bulbul Shah it became famous as Bulbul langar. Tarikh-i-Hasan Vol. I, p. 323; R. K. Parmu, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 392.
 2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 318; Mohibbul Hasan, op. cit., p. 40. In Turkistan 'langar' means 'inn'
 3. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 155.
 4. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 156
 5. In course of time, however, the khanqah seems to have suffered a lot owing to inattention so that in 1872 A.D. Bates observes that it (khanqah) was in an afflicted condition. Ibid.

Khanqah--i--Mualla:

Khanqah-i-Mualla is situated in Srinagar on the right bank of river Jhelum between the third and the fourth bridges. The site is four kilometres to the north of Lal-Chowk. The shrine is named after the renowned mystic, scholar, poet, theologian and author.¹ Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani^{is} popularly known as Amir-i-Kabir or Shah-i-Hamadan in the Valley. He was one of the most remarkable personalities of the 14th century Muslim world. He hailed from Hamadan in Persia and came to Kashmir in order to propogate Islam. He succeeded in bringing about mass conversion and changing the social and cultural complexion of millions of people inhabiting the Valley. He may well be said to have practically established Islam in Kashmir and laid the foundations well and sure.² Among the principal shrines, which came to be known after his name, the most important is Khanqah-i-Mulla.

The origin of Khanqah-i-Mualla goes back to the construction of a platform (suffah) by Sultan Qutb-ud-Din in honour of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani for his daily prayer. He was famous Muslim

1. Saiyid Ali Hamadani is said to have been author of more than one hundred works on logic, jurisprudence, philosophy, ethics, sufism and commentaries. Among his well-known works are; Zakhirat-ul-Muluk, Qayafat-nama, Minhay-ul-Arifin, Khulasat-ul-Manaqib, Asrar-ul-Nafs, Ghayat-ul-Makan and others.

2. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 55.
R. K. Parmu, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 101-102.

saint of Kubravi order¹, who arrived in the Valley during the reign of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din (1373-1389).² Apart from being a place of prayer, Khanqah-i-Mualla became the main centre of the propagation of Islam by Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani. A small room (hujra-i-khas) was constructed in north western corner of suffah (in the direction of qibla) which was used by Mir Sayid Ali Hamadani for residence and meditation³ and this apartment is held in high esteem by the Muslims to this date. A rectangular repository fitted with glass panes is installed at the outer gate of hujra-i khas. Its contents include, among other sacred things, the banner of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) of Islam and a wooden pillar against which he usually reclined in his tent. Both the relics were brought by Shah-i-Hamadan to Kashmir and deposited in the mosque⁴.

The visit to Kashmir by Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani was followed by a similar visit by Mir Muhammad Hamadani,⁵ his son. The latter, alongwith his three hundred disciples, arrived in Kashmir during

.....

1. This order was founded by Ahmad-bin-Umarul khayuqi also known as Najmu'd-Din Kubra born in 540 A.H/ 1145 A.D. in Khwarzm-Kubravi Sufi order is an off-shoot of the Suhrawardi order of Sufism. A disciple of Shaikh Abu Najib Suhrawardi, Shaikh Ismail Qadiri was one of the spiritual teachers of Najmu'd-Din Kubra. This Sufi order spread throughout the Muslim world especially in Central Asia and Persia. This order was introduced in Kashmir by Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani.
2. A. Q. Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir, p. 63.
3. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 328.
4. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 488.
5. For Saiyid Ali's advice to his son, Saiyid Muhammad, on the educational value of travels. Abdul Wahab Nuri, Fathat-i-Kubraviya, R.P.D., NO: 17, f. 155b.

the reign of Sultan Sikandar and occupied the same suffah where his father has prayed.¹ He accelerated his mission and succeeded in influencing the reigning Sultan, who, apart from abiding by his many other suggestions, converted the suffah (platform) of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani into a fulfilled single storeyed khanqah in two years.² Apart from building the khanqah, a substantial wagf grant was also endowed upon it. The wagfnama (the endowment deed) of the khanqah-i-Mualla which is preserved in the said khanqah says³ that the revenue of three villages; Wachi from pargana shahura, Tral from pargana Uler and Nunwuni from pargana Martand were bestowed upon it.⁴

1. Mohibbul Hasan, op. cit., p. 63; Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 330.

2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 330.

He also constructed khanqah-i-Ala at Tral near Vantipor, Khanqah-i-Wala in Wachi, Pargana Shahura, and the khanqah-i-Kubravi in Matan. He also built the grand Jamia Masjid at Sikanderpora. G. M. D. Sufi, Kashir, p. 146.

3. The Wagfnama makes mention of the foundation of khanqah as under:

"Muhammad, Son of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani says; Since my father removed the rust of heresy and heathenism from the hearts of the Kashmiris with the help of Godly Kings, Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, he laid the foundation of khanqah-i-Mulla." See Wagfnama preserved in the khanqah-i-Mualla Trust, Srinagar, Kashmir.

4. It is said that Mir Muhammad Hamadani had with him a Lal-i-Badakshan (jewel) which he presented to the Sultan. The Sultan reciprocated this offer with the assignment of the three above-mentioned villages as jagir for up-keep and maintenance of the khanqah. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 331.

Besides, Baharistan-i-Shahi and Tuhfat-ul-Ahbad makes mention of only two villages. But it does not appear to be correct. In Wagfnama and other contemporary sources, there is clear mention of all the three villages.

As khangah was exclusively of wooden structure, it caught fire several times. During Sultan Hasan Shah's time (1472-84), there occurred fire in Ala-ud-Dinpora and Khangah-i-Mualla got burnt. The sultan himself took pains in re-constructing the khangah and built a splendid structure of single storey. He also purchased the land lying in the vicinity of Khangah and extended its compound.¹

In 1144 A.H/1731 A.D.² there occurred a fire and khangah-i-Mualla which was all built of deodar timber again caught fire. The khadims succeeded in saving the relics (tabruks) at the time of fire. Nawab Abu Barakat Khan, the Mughal Viceroy undertook this time the work of reconstruction.³ He constructed chambers i.e. small rooms (hujras) and erected four pillars in the middle.

The present structure of the khangah brings back the memory of those times. Apart from the cloisters which have been added later and the additions and alterations that are being carried out by present day care takers, the original building is a square structure. Its chief structural peculiarity is that it is for most part built of wooden balks presenting best specimen of the

1. Saiyid Ali, Tarikh-i-Saiyid Ali, R.P.D. NO: 739, f. 32b., Khawaja Muhammad Azam Dedamari, Waqat-i-Kashmir, R.P.D., NO: 100, f. 224a.

2. P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, p. 534.

3. Ibid.,

wooden architecture. It is interesting to note that its roof is probably very similar to that which once covered the temple at Martand and the crowning ornament is evidently a reminiscence of a Buddhist Hiti.¹ It is a significant fact that the heavy corbelled cornice at Khanqah-i-Mualla should bear a strong resemblance to that of the mosque of Madani at Madin Sahib and similar little mosque at Pampore.

The interior of Khanqah-i-Mualla consists of a single large hall, 63 feet by 43 feet, with fourteen chambers or cells on its northern and southern sides. The only decoration in the interior is the beautiful panelled wood work on the walls, to which age has imparted a rich brown colour. The larger panels in the walls bear carved on them various attributes of God, which have been painted in gold.

The spaces between the balks are filled and carefully dressed with bricks. Some of the doors and windows are beautiful examples of wood carving and wood cornice. The plinth is an exquisite piece of workmanship. Its main gate opens on the eastern side. There is also a graveyard in the northern part of the khanqah. The view of R.C. Kak that the tomb of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani is situated within the khanqah² is erroneous. Actually

1. Fergusson J. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 333.

2. R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p. 79.

Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani travelled to Pakhli and thence proceeded to Kunar near Kafiristan. Here he fell ill seriously and died on January 19, 1385 and was buried in Khatlan.¹

Jamia Masjid:

Jamia Masjid, the grand mosque or Bud Masheed, situated at Sikandarpura,² was built by Sultan Sikandar under the instructions of Mir Muhammad Hamadani.³ It is built in the unique style of Kashmiri architecture for daily worship and congregational prayers. The work of construction was carried out under the supervision of Saiyid Muhammad of Luristan and Saiyid Sadr-ud-Din of Khurasan, both old companions of the great Shah-i-Hamadan. The two gentlemen were distinguished and dextrous architects of their times. Famous for their experience, skill and piety, they were invited by Sultan Sikandar and put in charge of the construction. The mosque was constructed with locally available building material—stone, timber and burnt brick. The two renowned architects completed the construction without accepting a penny in return.⁴ Sultan Sikandar also constructed a great seminary to its north where Arabic and Persian were taught to the students. Qazi Mir

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 57.

2. Modern name of this place is Nowhatta.

3. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 338.

4. G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, Vol. I, p. 146.

Muhammad Ali Bukhari was appointed as head of the institution.¹ After Sultan Sikandar, his son and successor Zain-ul-Abidin popularly known as Badshah in Kashmir, made additions and alterations in the mosque.² To make it more magnificent and beautiful, a tank (water reservoir) was constructed with a fountain playing in the centre. This tank received water through canal which was branched out from Shahkul. Lachma Khatun wife of Jalal Thakur and daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Din had constructed this canal, hence it became famous as Lachma canal (Lachma-kul).³ The canal which was somehow damaged was repaired by Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, so that the water supply to Jamia Masjid remained in tact.

But it finally fell into disuse after 1903 when Srinagar water works system was instituted by the state government.⁴ The canal is practically non existent today. The mosque is one of the most splendid structure of its kind in the world in point of grandeur, area and its architectural excellance. It has 370 lofty pillars chiselled out of deodar wood. These columns support the roof and add to the magnificence of the structure. It has four minarets one at the centre of each of four blocks from which one

1. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, (Mirza Kamal's Trans), p. 199.

2. W. R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 291.

3. It is said that when the water of the canal reached the city of Srinagar, eighty thousand (80,000) people were given meals at Idgah and the canal was opened for the people. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 157.

4. Jammu and Kashmir Research Bi-annual, Vol. I, p. 70.

can have a birds eye view of the whole Srinagar city. The roof of the mosque in the first instance was covered with brich-barks which looked very fascinating and impressive during spring season tulips blossomed thereon.

During the time of Sultan Hasan Shah (1472 A.D. 1484 A.D.) a serious conflagration occurred in the neighbourhood of Jamia Masjid in the Mohalla Nowhatta (Sikandarpura) and the mosque engulfed by the fire. Sultan Hasan Shah reconstructed the mosque¹, but unfortunately he died before completing the work. After his death his son Haider Shah who ascended the throne resumed the construction and completed some portions of it in three years. The then Commander-in-Chief of the army, Malik Ibrahim Magrey a native of Tregham built the roof and walls around it out of his private purse. After that Qazi Musa shaheed during Yaqub Shah Chak's time repaired the roof of the mosque.²

During emperor Jahangir's reign in 1029 on Idd-i-Ramzan, the mosque caught fire a second time when twelve thousand houses including Jamia Masjid were gutted in the lower parts of the city. The emperor being personally present in the Valley tried his best to bring fire under control but the mosque could not be saved. The emperor immediately attended to the reconstruction of the mosque which was taken in hand under the guidance of Rais-ul-Mulk, Malik Haider Chaudra.³

-
1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p.338; R.K. Parmoo, op. cit., p. 182.
 2. R. K. Parmoo, op. cit., p. 182.
 3. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 339.
Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 377.

The mosque caught fire for third time during the reign of Aurangzeb. This time the fire involved the lower parts of the city from Mohalla Kaudara to Mohallah Sikandarpura. When Aurangzeb heard of accident, his first enquiry was whether the chinars were safe. He then immediately ordered for rehabilitation of fire victims. Qawam-ud-Din Khan, Governor of Kashmir (1675-78) was ordered to attend to the reconstruction of the place of worship. Mulla Muhammad Tahir Naqshabandi was appointed the chairman of reconstruction project. The surrounding houses were acquired to extend the outer compound of the mosque in order to minimise the chances of similar tragedy.¹

The following inscription engraved on a stone fixed at the top of the south gate of the mosque gives a history of this mosque upto the reign of Jahangir:-

"Originally the Jamia Masjid was built by Sultan Sikandar, but it was subsequently burnt down. It was rebuilt by the grace of Almighty by Sultan Hasan Shah, a descendant of Sikandar. Then it was without pillars on its two wings, and without its roof. They were completed by (Malik) Ibrahim Magrey (his prime Minister) and in 909 Hijri (1508) in the reign of Muhammad Shah this blissful abode became the glorious tower of the strength of Islam. Yet again mosque got burnt down in 1029 Hijri (1619 A.D.), on the day of Idd, and was rebuilt by Malik Haider (Chaudura), the Rais-ul-Mulk, in the reign of Jahangir, on the Idd-i-Qurban".²

1. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 379.

2. R. K. Parimoo, op. cit., pp. 306--307.

With the fall of Mughal empire very little interest was paid towards the maintenance of the mosque. Obviously, its condition worsened during the Afghan rule. Although Karim Dad Khan, a cruel Governor of Kashmir, spent eight thousand rupees on the necessary repairs.¹ During the Sikh rule, it was not only left unattended but its doors were closed and the Muslims had to face great difficulty and the call for prayers (Azan) was prohibited and orders were issued for the confiscation of the jagirs of the mosque². But during the time of Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din³, Governor of Kashmir orders were issued for re-opening of the gates of the mosque.⁴ This time a sum of rupees one lakh and fifty thousand was spent on repairs of the mosque and this fact has been mentioned by Moulvi Naba Shah in his book *Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh*.⁵

During Dogra period in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh necessary repairs were carried out to the mosque with the efforts of Muslim subjects. Maharaja himself contributed a sum of two thousand rupees towards this pious act.⁶ Unfortunately due to financial difficulties the required repairs could not be executed.

1. Ibid.,

2. Ibid.,

3. Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din is buried in the inner chamber of the Shaikh Hamza's shrine on eastern side.

4. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 380. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 340.

5. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 380.

6. Tarikh-i-Hasan, (Moulvi Ibrahim's Trans.), p. 578.

Ultimately religious minded Maharaja Partab Singh who took great interest in the maintenance of places of worship of all communities took the Revenue Minister of the time Shaikh Maqbul Hussain Qidwai into his confidence to find out measures for reconstruction of the mosque which had for some time been in a state of deterioration. In the year 1912 a Committee under the chairmanship of the Revenue Minister comprising some prominent government officials was set up to consider the question of reconstruction¹. For the required finances a decision was taken that half anna per rupee of the land revenue be collected from the Sunni Muslims by the government annually till the construction of the mosque was completed. It was also decided that this fund known as 'Jamia Masjid Fund' should be deposited in government treasury. The technical advice was sought from the Archaeological Department, Government of India².

Plans for the reconstruction of the mosque were prepared under the guidance of state Engineer of Bhopal State Khan Bahadur Jaffar Hussain who was deputed by the Nawab of Bhopal to attend to this pious work without any remuneration. In the year 1913, Saiyid Jaffar Hussain came to Srinagar and attended to the required work without any compensation. Immediately after this a need was felt to find out a competent Engineer to look after the construction work. Sir H. V. Cob invited Sir John Marshall the then Director General of Archaeological Survey of India to Kashmir to advice,

1. Shaikh Maqbul Husain, Risala-i-Jamia Masjid, p. 23.,
G.M.D. Sufi, Kashir, p. 513.

2. G. M. D. Sufi, Kashir, p. 513.

Sir John Marshall came to Kashmir in 1915 and was a guest of Maharaja.¹ The Revenue Minister also met the Director General (Sir John Marshall) and discussed the details of the problem. Immediately after this, Mr. Peech Superintendent Archaeological Department of India with the permission of Central government came to Kashmir and remained here for four months and collected all necessary data and the plans of the construction to be prepared. He did not claim any remuneration. He contributed a sum of five thousand rupees on behalf of the Government of India towards the 'Jamia Masjid construction fund'.² The question of entrusting the construction work to a competent engineer was thoroughly discussed and it was decided that Mr. Avery, a well known engineer be appointed with Col. H. A. D. Freser, the state engineer to supervise the work of the mosque.³

The final cost of construction was estimated at rupees thirteen lakhs which was annually being collected by the Revenue Department of the government and deposited with state treasury under a separate head 'Jamia Masjid Fund'. The construction of the mosque was completed within twelve years.⁴ The mosque served the purpose of a great religious centre for the Muslims of Kashmir. People from all parts of the Valley came to listen to the sermons

1. Shaikh Maqbool Husain, op. cit., p. 25.
 2. Ibid., p. 26.
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Ibid., p. 27.

of the preachers. The people who offered prayers at the mosque also contributed for its up keep and management. After partition the mosque was being looked after by the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Awqaf Trust till 1970, when it was finally handed over to Maulana Muhammad Farooq, Mirwaiz Kashmir whose ancestors had been attending to it before partition.

Khanqah-i-Shaikh-ul-Aalam:

Shaikh¹ Nur-ud-Din (light of the faith) is the most widely acclaimed leader amongst the sufis of Kashmir especially in the Rishi cult. He is in the vanguard of local sufis of Kashmir whose shrine at Chrar-i-Sharif is the source of spiritual inspiration to the people at large. The saint did no schooling and yet he was a vast reservoir of spiritual knowledge, worldly wisdom and was an embodiment of human values which he preached in right earnest. A high priest of broad humanism, Shaikh exhorted people to address themselves to the service of society irrespective of caste or creed in these words, "Feed the hungry if you can, ask not the naked what his caste or creed is"². Hazrat Shaikh Nur-ud-Din popularly known

1. Shaikh Nur-ud-Din was born towards the close of 14th century in village Qaimuh of Tehsil Kulgam. Having been married at an early age his wife Zai-Ded bore him two issues. He paid good bye to his family and took to ways of severe penance and meditation for the sake of attaining a high level of divine eestasy.

2. Census, 1981, District Budgam, p. 14.

as Aalamdar-i-Kashmir meaning the spiritual leader, possessing the authority to lead the Kashmiris to salvation on the day of resurrection. It (Shaikh-ul-Aalam) means also the top-ranking mentor of the world.

The great Rishi saint died at the age of sixty three years. The year of passing away of the saint is derived from the chronogram composed as "Shams-ul-Arifeen" which according to the value ascribed to Alphabet (Abjad) works out to 842 A.H.¹ He was buried in Chrar and a mausoleum was constructed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin over his grave.² The mausoleum due to the great spiritual power of the saint became a source of attraction for all the Kashmiris. The great celebrity of this saint seems chiefly owing to his having been a Kashmiri by birth.³ The tomb is of the usual form, but is perhaps better proportional and contains more elaborate carving than any other in the Valley. After Zain-ul-Abidin, it appears that the shrine has been constructed during the time of Akbar.⁴ There is also a khanqah to the south-west of the ziarat which was also constructed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, after the construction of the shrine.⁵

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 125.

2. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 157.

3. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 277.

4. Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 277.

5. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 157.

The structure was gutted by fire many times because it was made of wood in its entirety. The Khanqah caught a ravaging fire during the mutwaliship of Alhaj Lassababa. It was reconstructed with the contribution of devotees and pilgrims of the Valley.¹

There occurred yet another fire involving the Khanqah during the reign of the Chaks. Pir Ghulam Hasan Khuihami says that Yaqoob Shah Chak the reigning monarch reconstructed the Khanqah. It is said that the Khanqah was not facing the gibla. This error was set right by a spiritual master of the time namely Niki Rishi.²

Still another fire broke out during Mughal period and both the Khanqah and the ziarat were gutted. This time Abul Barakat Khan the Governor and the Rais-i-Kashmir, Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Drabu reconstructed the Khanqah and the ziarat with great interest.³ This time a road was constructed from Nagam to Chrar-i-Sharif for the comfort of the devotees. Besides, arrangements for supply of water were also made. It has been confirmed through the examination of documents that this Aab khana (water reservoir) was constructed by Sardar Atta Muhammad Khan (the Pathan Governor) during his time.⁴ During Dogra period an Anjuman was formed under the chairmanship

1. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 412.

2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 352.

3. Ibid.,

4. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 414.

of Aziz Mir Rajpuri, Rais of Kashmir. Its members belonged to different places. They did their best for the reconstruction of the Khanqah. It was with the help of this Anjuman that the brang (spire) of the shrine could be raised to its completion¹.

The Khanqah consists of a large oblong building, with a wing at either end; it is built of hewn timber placed transversely, and raised on a plinth of brick-work. It is a double storeyed building, the centre chambers measuring about 80 feet by 60, with an elevation of about 30 feet; the roof, which rises in tiers, is supported by four pillars of hewn timber, each formed of the single trunk of deodar trees. The interior is quite plain; the massive wood-work is neither stained nor varnished, but the windows are filled with trellis-work.

Wooden style of architecture was commonⁱⁿ the Valley during the sultanate rather than masonry style. Although building in wood was not unknown in Hindu times, it became more popular under the sultans. This is perhaps due to the fact that shrines and Khanqahs constructed in wooden frame-work are less liable to fall in earthquakes than an edifice of brick or stone.² Moreover, the change of religion required the hasty erection of buildings for public worship on a much large scale than had been required by Hindu ritual, wood was abundant and easily worked hence its substitution for stone and the fashion having once set in continued to spread after the occasion for it had ceased.

1. This information was given to me by Master Ghulam Nabi of Chrar-i-Sharif.

2. Mohibbul Hasan, op. cit., p. 268.

Ziarat-i-Baba Zain-ud-Din Reshi:

The ziarat-i-Baba Zain-ud-Din at Aishmuqam in pargana Khawurpora is an important place of pilgrimage within the Valley. Devotees in thousands revert to this shrine to offer their homage and often in fulfilment of a vow. The pilgrims and visitors to the shrine belong to all creeds and classes.

Baba Zain-ud-Din who lived in fifteenth century A.D. was the chief disciple of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Reshi, the founder of Rishi order in Kashmir. Being one of the earliest members of the Reshi order in southern part of the Valley Baba Zain-ud-Din did pioneering work for Reshi order and came to exercise profound influence on the people of the Valley.

Originally, there was no shrine at Aishmuqam. There was only a cave¹ occupied by snakes and reptiles. The shrine came into existence after the demise of Baba Zain-ud-Din.² It is said, that after Zain-ud-Din attained spiritual perfection, his mentor Shaikh

1. The Reshinama records that long ago Aishmuqam was the headquarter of one Tam-yesh Sen who is said to have dug the cave at the same place where now stands the shrine. It was this cave which Baba Zain-ud-Din selected for his meditation and penance. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 203.
2. The saint Zain-ud-Din was a Sikh prince before his conversion to Islam belonging to the ruling family of Rajas of Kishtwar. His name was Zai Singh. He lost his father when he was still a child. It is further recorded that he was taken ill in his early age and his mother got worried. Meanwhile, an anonymous person came and enquired about the ailment of the child. Finally it was agreed upon that if the baby recovered, the mother should come to Kashmir alongwith the child and accept Islam. Accordingly the mother after the recovery of the child came to Kashmir alongwith the child and both mother and son embraced Islam. The boy was named Zain-ud-Din, Terikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 129.

Noor-ud-Din advised him to migrate from Sopore to the cave at Aishmuqam. When he reached the aforesaid place, he found the entrance of the cave, blocked by snakes and reptiles. He carried with him a club, which he had recovered from the mentor. He placed the club on the ground and it soon turned into dreadful cobra. The snakes in the cave got awestricken and vacated the cave after they surrounded the saint¹. Thus the saint occupied the cave and meditated for twelve long years to secure spiritual upliftment.

In 1448 A.D. Baba Zain-ud-Din bade good bye to this universe. It is said that after performing necessary ablution (gosul) of the dead body, it was put into coffin and taken to the graveyard for burial. Strangely after opening the coffin, it was found to be empty and the disciples and devotees had to fled away in utter confusion. It was in the succeeding night that one of the disciples saw the saint in dream, who directed him to make the graveyard where the coffin had been placed.² Next day the same directions were rightly followed. In the main chamber of the cave where the saint

1. The snakes are said to have fled to Puhurpajan, a hilly area sixteen miles to the east of Aishmuqam. Legend says that in that area the snakes and the cobras are non-poisonous because of the miracle performed by the saint, Hazrat Zain-ud-Din. Not only are they non-poisonous but so humble that if one's feet get smothered with milk, the snakes being fond of milk, they would lick the feet but would never bite. Mohi-ud-Din Sarabali, Tarikh-i-Kabir, f. 103a.

2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. II, p. 132.

The saint had directed that his tomb should be erected where his staff was to be found, as his body would disappear. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, p. 359. Cf. Historical Geography of Kashmir, p. 79.

used to sit for meditation, an artificial grave was built which has become the centre of pilgrimage for the devotees who visit the shrine for grant of benedictions round the year.

It was after the demise of the Shaikh Zain-ud-Din that the shrine came into existence. This time the mausoleum contains two graves of Baba Zain-ud-Din-- one within the cave and the other right above it in the chamber of the shrine. Besides Baba Zain-ud-Din's grave some disciples of the saint also lie buried in the compound of the ziarat.¹

Since the shrine is on a hillside one has to go up a flight stairs. The structure is beautiful and typical example of Rishi style of shrines. It has a four-tier roof surrounded by a spire. The latticed window work in wood is unique, the like of which is not to be found anywhere else.

Ziarat-i-Baba Payam-ud-Din

The shrine of Baba Payam-ud-Din popularly known as Rishi Sahib, is situated in the village Ranbuah in Bangil pargana about seven kilometres from Gulmarg. The shrine is situated on the cool, healthy and grassy slopes surrounded by forests.

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, p. 132.

Baba Rishi is the popular name of Baba Payam-ud-Din who was a prominent disciple of Shaikh Zain-ud-Din of Aishmuqam. He is reported to have belonged to a rich family and is said to have suddenly served all worldly relations and turned a mendicant. It was under the instructions of the preceptor that the saint spent his last days in Ranbush in secluded meditation for spiritual gain. The saint died in 1475 A.D. at Ranbush and was buried there.¹ Soon thereafter, a shrine was built at the site. The people in large numbers visit the shrine and take a vow to offer presents at the shrine once their wishes are fulfilled.

It is said that the ruler of contemporary Kashmir did not have a male issue. He came to Baba Rishi and prayed for the boon of a son. Eventually a son was born to the king. Afterwards, both the king and his son became the murids (disciples) of the Rishi Sahib. Under the orders of the king a langarkhana (free kitchen) was constructed and some land as wagf was granted for the maintenance of the langar.² The langarkhana stands even today. The main shrine at the site is a single-storeyed building erected on stone foundation. It is exclusively constructed of wooden balks. The spaces between the balks are filled with very small and carefully dressed bricks. The door and the windows of the shrine are beautiful examples of wood carving, and the wooden cornice of the plinth is

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 112.

2. Baba Rishi, Idara-i-Auqaf-i-Islamic, J&K, pp. 7--8.

an exquisite piece of workmanship. The graveyard of the saint is covered with velvet cloth which is embroidered with Quranic ayats and naats. The shrine is a true copy of the shrines of other Rishis of Kashmir having a brang (spire) at the top. There is a two storeyed khangah to the north of the shrine. It has hammam on the eastern-side. One important feature to be seen there in the compound of Rishi Sahib is a hearth made by Rishi Sahib with his own hands. It is enclosed with a p^ortective wall. This hearth was used for cooking eatables and preparations for the pilgrims and devotees who visited the shrine. Besides, there are many barracks constructed for comfortable stay of the devotees. These barracks were raised to provide facilities of boarding and lodging to the pilgrims.

Shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom:

The shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, situated in the lap of Koh-i-Maran (also known as Hariparbat hill in Srinagar), one thousand feet higher than the surrounding land, is another important shrine thronged by a large number of devotees. Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, one of the leading mystics of Kashmir who wielded great influence on the masses, lies entombed there. Besides the saint, the body of Baba Daud Khaki, one of the chief disciples of the saint and once the chief justice of Kashmir and scholar of the time is also entombed within the shrine. It is said that when Jamal-ud-Din

Bukhari¹ arrived Kashmir, he said that the abode of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom was the centre of sacred grace. Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom choose this place for prayers, meditation and preaching religion. Soon after the death of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, there came to be established a shrine over the graveyard of the Shaikh.

It is important to note that at the beginning there was no shrine on the slope of Koh-i-Maran. There was a mosque known as 'Zakir Masjid' constructed by Makhdoom Sahib for prayers which inspite of renovation seems, by and large to be in its original shape. It was after Shaikh's demise that the shrine came into existence. In 1006 A.H/1597 A.D., Akbar, the Mughal Emperor came to Kashmir and issued orders for the construction of a mausoleum at the site², to the left of the 'Zakir Masjid'. Thus was constructed a single storey shrine upon the mausoleum covered by a brang (spire). Nawab Innayatullah Khan, (Subadar during Mughal rule) took great interest in the reconstruction. He constructed an Ibadatkhana

.....

1. Saiyid Jamal-ud-Din Bukhari, a Suhrawardi Sufi arrived in Kashmir in the first half of the 16th century. A large number of people were attracted to him. Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom became his disciple and received initiation into the Suhrawardi order. A. Q. Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir, pp. 21--22.
2. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 215.

(mosque) which later on became famous as Masjid Innayat Khan. Atta Muhammad Khan, a Pathan Governor also took great interest ~~in~~ in its reconstruction and extended the mosque.¹ Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, a Governor during Sikh period rebuilt it. He extended the structure of the shrine and constructed a gate on eastern side. He is buried on the eastern side of the enclosure,² (Gulamgardish). The length of tomb is 3½ feet. Then Khwaja Muhammad Sakhi Drabu who was a Rais and a trader, took keen interest in reconstructing and decorating the shrine during the time of his mutwaliship. He also raised a brang (spire) on the roof of Makhdoom Sahib's shrine. Khawaja Mohi-ud-Din Gundroo Rais-ul-Waqat (during the period he was incharge) paid an admirable attention to the matters of construction. He constructed a hammam for the devotees comfort³ and purchased some land which became the property of the shrine. One important thing with regard to management is that it were the attendents of the shrine viz., Pir Sahiban, Baba and Pir Sahiban Paen who elected⁴ unanimously mutwali for the up keep and maintenance of the shrine. This system started during our period of study. Its management or the chairmanship since the last phase of our period of study came into the hands of Mirza dynasty. The first person of this dynasty who took over as the charge of mutwaliship was Haji Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. He constructed a go down for keeping the furniture of the shrine quite safe. Mirza Mustafa with the help of famous trader of the time, Khawaja Saif-ud-Din Gani framed a construction programme of the Ziarat of Makhdoom Sahib. They constructed the steps by fitting chiselled stones which took near about seventy thousand

1. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 398.

2. Ibid.,

3. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, op. cit., p. 399.

4. See Appendix--I

rupees to complete. Besides, the compound of the ziarat was fitted with stones and roofs were made of corrugated galvanised sheets of tin.

The ziaratgah of Makhdoom Sahib is a complex of mosques and graveyards. The mosque of Akhun Mulla Shah is situated just below the shrine of Makhdoom Sahib. This little mosque was built by Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan for his tutor Akun Mulla Shah. Grey beautiful slabs are used for its construction. The stone lotus fixed over the pulpit is the only example of its survival in Kashmir. The only external decorations are the rectangular panels enclosing cusped arches.¹ There are Masjid-i-Jahangir, Masjid-i-Salaar Beigh, Zakir Masjid, Masjid-i-Haft Sadat, Masjid-i-Atta Muhammad Khan, Sara-i-Khas and a Talab (pond).² There is Kasturi pend on the eastern side where the devotees offer prayers during the hot days of summer season.

During the reign of Akbar embellished arcades were constructed around the mausoleum and its ceiling was made of khatmbund pattern.³ To the right of Makhdoom Sahib's grave exists the grave of Baba Daud-i-Khaki. Both these graves have pinjr-kari (perforated screens) designs to the north. The walls of the shrine are decorated with carved wood work which is polished. The windows too are embellished with carved wood work. Each latticed window is quite different from the other in its make. The graves are covered with sheets of brocade. The windows around the graves

through which the pilgrims have a view of the graves are permanently fitted with glasses in size equalling the stature of man. The ceiling is decorated with designs in papier-machie. The mausoleum has a four tier roof and surmounted with a filied spire.

1. R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p. 90.

2. Kashur Encyclopaedia, pp. 216, 17, 18 and 19.

3. Ibid.,

Hazratbal Shrine:

...

The shrine at Hazratbal¹ is of greatest importance among all the Muslim shrines of Kashmir. The Ziarat occupies a highest position throughout the Valley among all the sections of the society without any religious distinction. This reverence for the shrine is due to its being the repository of the holy relic (hair-moe-mubarak) of holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) The Kashmiris refer to it by various titles like asar-i-sharif², madinat-us-thani and dargah-i-sharif out of their profound reverence for and faith in the sanctity of this place of worship.

The origin of Hazratbal shrine goes back to the construction by Sadiq Khan, of an exquisite-building (baradari) within a pleasant garden on the western bank of the Dal lake. The shrine is in close proximity to Naseem Bagh³ and Bagh-i-Afzalabad⁴. The

-
1. Hazratbal, ten kilometres away from Lalchowk (Srinagar) is beautifully situated at an altitude of 5250 feet on the western shores of famous Dal lake. Hazratbal has the geometrical location of 34° 5'N and 74° 5'E. Deptt. of Geography Kashmir University, Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 188.
 2. The title of dargah-e-sharif is mostly at the tip of every Kashmiris tongue. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 13.
 3. It was built by Shah-i-Jahan at a place quite adjacent to Hazratbal locality on the western bank of the Dal lake. It is said that when the sun entered the zodiac of aries, twelve hundred saplings of chinar were planted at the one and the same time and instead of water, they were irrigated with milk. Thus not a single plant went dry. The velvet green grass was laid over the surface and from the Zakura canal, a branch was dug out upto the garden. The firm buildings, the strong boundry wall and fountains and ~~sand~~ cascades became extinct during Afghan period. But most of the chinar still exist. Tarikh-i-Hasan, pp. 91-92.
 4. It was built quite close to Hazratbal by Afzal Khan a noble of Shah Jahan in the north. Ibid., p. 303. This garden does not exist today.

garden laid out by Sadiq Khan ultimately became famous as Bagh-i-Sadigabad¹. It was during the visit of Shahjahan to Kashmir that the unique type of building (baradari) was transferred into place of worship. He issued orders for the construction of the pulpit (mimber)² with other necessary annexes, so as to make it available for daily prayers (to God). Sixty seven years later, in 1111 A.H. (A.D. 1699), the holy hair of the Prophet (p. b. u.h.) was brought to Kashmir and was placed in the inner most chamber of the above mentioned exquisite building.

The history of the sacred relic in the dargah of Hazratbal is related by various chroniclers and historians. It is said that the holy hair was first in the possession of Saiyid Abdullah, who hailed from Medina-e-Munawara. He had served as the custodian (mutwali) of Prophet's grave (rouza-e-muthara) at Madina in Arabia. He was a rebel against the commands of the king of Rome. It was due to his disobedience that the orders of his banishment from Arabia were issued. The Governor of Medina in accordance with commandments banished the Saiyid.³

-
1. Sadiq Khan who was one of the nobles of Shah Jahan built a pleasant garden around the beautiful building. In 1044 A.H. (1636 A.D.), Shah Jahan came to Kashmir and performed ablution in its main building and offered two rakats as prayer (to God). For the construction of unique building, he said to Sadiq Khan that this is not a place of luxury but a place of worship. Ibid., p. 302. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 304.
 2. Mamber is that unique place in the mosque where Imam performs the function of Imamat.
 3. The Governor of Medina Munawara seized the property of Saiyid Abdullah and exiled him. Tarikh-i-Hasan (Prof. Ibrahim's Trans). Vol. III, p. 480.

On his departure from Arabia, he carried, it is said three sacred relics¹ and reached India. He was given cordial and warm welcome by the then emperor Shah Jahan and as a token of gratitude and regard the emperor bestowed upon him a jagir at Bijapur.² After his death, his son threw their lot on the side of Daro-Shikoh. Consequently their jagir was confiscated by Aurangzeb Alamgir. The sons had to visit Shah Jahanabad to get their jagir released. The release orders of the jagir could not be obtained easily and early. Obviously, their condition went from bad to worse day by day and consequently they pawned the sacred relic against the heavy debt, with Khawaja Nur-ud-Din³; a Kashmiri businessman who lived at Urdu Bazar Shahjahanabad. The sons of Saiyid Abdullah had no capacity to repay the debts. Therefore, the sacred relic had to be transferred to Nur-ud-Din. Nur-ud-Din considered it a boon and testified the debts to have been paid off.

1. The relics contained the following items:-

- i) Hair (moe-mubarak) of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.)
- ii) Turban (dastar-i-sharif) of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.)
- iii) Saddle of the horse used by Hazrat Ali. Ibid.

2. , Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol III. 481

3. Nur-ud-Din Ishbari belonged to Kashmir(Ishbar). He was rich trader, having trade relations with many parts of India. He was of religious bent of mind.

After this precious acquisition Nur-ud-Din decided to set out to Kashmir alongwith the relic. Before he could reach the destination, the spies conveyed the news to the King Alamgir. Nur-ud-Din had reached Lahore, where he was arrested and alongwith his servant Ghulam Hassan who was the custodian of the sacred relic, he was presented before the royal court. The King, after the exhibition (deedar) of the holy relic, ordered to keep it at the shrine of Muin-ud-Din Chishti (Rehmatullah Allah) in Ajmeer. Khawaja Nur-ud-Din died at Lahore of shock of being relieved of the relic by Aurangzeb. The Khawaja expressed his last desire to Khawaja Ghulam Hasan that incase the latter succeeded in recovering the relic, he should take it to Kashmir. It was only after a few days, when it is believed, the King had a dream¹ and the relic was allowed to be taken to Kashmir amidst great enthusiasm alongwith the dead body of Khawaja Nur-ud-Din.²

The learnedmen, scholars, elergy, Muslim lavity dignitaries and a mass of commoners under the guidance and leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Radhu³ reached Hirpur (Shopian) to welcome and receive

-
1. It is said that the King had a dream where he was directed by Prophet Muhammad (p. b. u. h.) to send the holy relic to Kashmir. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 481. Tarikh-i-Hasan Vol. I, p. 302.
 2. Khawaja Nur-ud-Din was buried near the ziarat. Bamzal, A History of Kashmir, pp. 537-38.
 3. Shaikh Muhammad Radhu was a saintly and scholarly person of the time. It was he who identified the relic while reaching Kashmir and was publicly accepted by the Kashmiris. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 481.

the relic (moe-i-mubarak). The sacred relic was first exhibited at Khanqah of Naqshband Sahib where thousands of people came to pay homage to the relic (moe-i-mubarak). Shaikh Muhammad Radhu was the first person to exhibit the relic to the general masses. It is also said that the relic was at first exhibited in the Qazi mosque at Chishti Street near the residence of Shaikh Radhu before the general masses.¹

However, the space in Naqshaband Sahib shrine was limited, certain responsible people approached the then Governor, Fazil Khan with the suggestion that the relic be shifted to such a place as would be ample for its public exhibition and as would meet all the requirements. This is how the relic came to be shifted to the Bagh-i-Sadiqabad, a place which satisfied the needs of the people and fulfilled the anticipation of Emperor Shahjahan. Aurangzeb bestowed three villages in jagir to Khadims² for up keep and maintenance of the relic and the place assigned for its preservation.

1. Shaikh Radhu lived in the said Mohalla and is buried in the said Mohalla. May be that the Shaikh commanded so much love in the hearts of common masses and as a token of respect the people agreed to the exhibition of the relic before a mass gathering within the mosque.

2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 481.

Bagh-i-Sadiqabad was rechristened as Hazratbal¹ because of trusteeship of the holy relic. This added a lot of significance and religious sanctity to the dargah. The building (baradari) built after the Mughal style of architecture was well embellished to house the sacred relic which later on became famous as asrar-i-sharif and was set to the needs of the time in due course.

The holy relic (moe-i-mubarak) kept in a glass container was transferred into safe custody of the pagoda type building. It was very natural for the people and the administration to act in right earnest and especially to show all the reverence and care in finding a very appropriate place for the relic. Proper care was taken to make the environment elegant and graceful around the safe chamber of the building (baradari). The carvings on the wall and latticed windows of the building were specimens of exquisite art. The devotees of the sacred place (dargah) having made repairs to the building and having extended it westward, built a mosque and in 1285 A.H. (1868 A.D.), they added to it a spacious khanqah and a high building on its eastern side.² A mosque was also constructed on its eastern side and a noorkhana was connected to it where the women folk offered prayers. A pandal in proximity to the main shrine in order to exhibit the

1. Hazratbal:

Hazrat means majesty and bal in Kashmiri means a place and is applied to a bank or a leading place. Since the above said place, being repository of Prophet's (p.b.u.h.) hair is situated on the bank of Dal lake, it came to be known as Hazratbal. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 303.

2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 303.

holy relic to the pilgrims and devotees.¹ It was in 1793 A.D. that Nawab Asan-ullah Khan (Nawab of Dacca) originally a Kashmir, devoted considerable resources towards the construction of ziarat. He constructed a beautiful hammam² (turkish bath) for the comfort of the devotees.³ It was in 1942 A.D. that the two great verandahs were constructed and the old roof^{of} the building was dismantled and was replaced by sheets of corrugated galvanized tin.

The old shrine of Hazratbal was a splendid and a typical piece of architecture of Mugal and Kashmir art. It was three storeyed having seven windows. It had five roofs⁴ after the Chinese style of architecture. Its windows, openings and balustrades were filled with elaborate net (jali) screens the patterns of which were produced by little pieces together well cut and

1. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 14.
2. The hammam (turkish bath) has been a great institution in Kashmir and was introduced by Mirza Haider Dughlat. As Kalhana in his first tarang mentions 'hot baths' or 'warm bath houses' in Kashmir, we can suppose that the present structure of the hammam may have been due to the Turkish bath of Mirza Haider. The Turkish bath is really a ~~no~~ misnomer, as the association with Turks came after their conquest of constantinople. The Greeks-cum-Roman bath is the origin of the hammam of the entire near east. Even Today one can see an example in the ruins of these baths in Pompeii, Italy. In Srinagar every mosque has a bath house (hammam) where warm water is available in winter for ablutions. Interestingly enough, during the cold winter months the faithful also obtain warmth in the mosques owing to the heat generated by hammam.
3. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 309.
4. The roof over roof was the main feature of the building. The second roof was vaster in length and breadth than the first. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 15.

exquisitely designed and pieces of wood fitted together so as to form geometrical patterns. In between the fourth and the fifth roofs the space was covered with net (jali).

In the year 1968 A.D. the old type of building (baradari) was dismantled and a new marble mosque, said to be replica type of the tomb of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) in Madina was constructed under the orders and personal care of Late Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah. This came to completion in 1979. The relic was then transferred to the newly constructed shrine with great enthusiasm.

Shrine of Pir-i-Dastgir:

....

Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani a top-ranking Muslim saint and scholar of Baghdad, whose reputation for piety and spiritual attainments travelled far and wide all over the world. The saint never visited Kashmir or any part of sub-continent, but his sanctity brought him so much of reputation that people of all countries and communities came to hold him in high esteem. Ever since the establishment of the ziarat of Pir-i-dastgir the people have been flocking the ziarat every day to invoke the blessings of the celebrated Pir. Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani is known by number of names, among which eleven prominent names of the saint have earned him the name of Kahnau¹ among all (person having

-----r-----v-----.

1. The saint namely Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani had fixed eleventh date of every month (Muslim calender) for the distribution of alms. It also specifies the significance of kahnau.

eleven names¹ the communities. However, the most popular names of the saint in Kashmir are Pir-i-dastgir¹, ghaus-ul-azam², Shah-i-bagdad³ and others .

The shrine of Pir-i-dastgir which stands at Khanyar (Srinagar) is respected by almost all the sections of people without any religious distinction. The shrine contains the holy relic (hair) of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder and great saint of Qadiri order⁴. The holy relic of the founder of Qadiri silsilah was brought to Kashmir by a tourist from Kabul in 1802 A.D. during the governorship of Sardar Abdullah Khan Alkozi, an Afghan governor. The governor acquired it from the tourist and presented it to a local saint Saiyid Buzerg Shah Qadiri.⁵

-
1. Pir means mentor and dastgir means the person who holds the hand or supports the suppliant.
 2. He not only listened to the problems of the people, but also searched out solutions ~~for~~ to their problems. The peculiarity earned him the title of ghous-ul-azam.
 3. Shah-i-baghdad literally means the sovereign of Baghdad, capital of Iraq, but here the term Shah means the monarch in the spiritual and not the material sense. Baghdad was looked upon as the centre of the literary and spiritual activity of exalted saints like Shah-i-bagdat.
 4. The most wide-spread Sufi order of the world (Qadiri order) was founded by Abdul Qadir Jilani. Saiyid Abdul Qadir Jilani started the teaching and preaching of piety and purity since the early stage of his life. Before long his dedication, devotion and missionary zeal brought round him a large number of followers. This order was introduced in Kashmir by Saiyid Niamatullah Shah Qadiri who visited the Valley second half of 16th century.
 5. It is said that the Governor was murid of the saint. Saiyid Buzerg Shah Qadiri to whom he presented the relic. Tarikh-i-Hasan, p. 493.

The shrine of Pir-i-dastgir is situated on the left-side of the Srinagar-Leh Highway, four kilometres away from Lal Chowk. Towards north, at Khanyar Mohalla of the Srinagar city. Before the arrival of the sacred relic of Pir-i-dastgir, a Khanqah-i-Qadiri had already been built by Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri¹ popularly known as Sakhi Shah Sahib.² Sakhi Shah Sahib alongwith his family and servants had entered Kashmir in the company of certain famous Saiyids. He first established himself at Khanyar and in course of time he gathered round himself a large number of followers. It was with the financial assistance of his disciples and proceeds of the jagir which he received from the government that he was able to build the khanqah. Sakhi Shah Sahib initiated a large number of people into the Qadiri order. Among these were certain eminent personalities of the times viz., Qazi Abdul Qadir Khan with whose help Saiyid Ghulam-ud-Din Azad reconstructed the khanqah.³

-
1. Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri, the founder of Qadiri order in Kashmir, had come to Sindh (presently in Pakistan) from Baghdad during the reign of Aurangzeb. He then came to Kashmir and started Qadiri order in which he succeeded and thus became the founder of Qadiri order in Kashmir.
 2. Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri was very famous, pious and kind hearted. In spite of being in debt and poor condition, he distributed all that he possessed and which came to him from murids among the deserving and the poor people. He also used to give clothes, food and travelling expenses to those who visited him at Khanqah. Being greatly helpful to the poor and needy, he came to be known as Sakhi Shah Sahib. Pir Ghulam Hasan Khuihami, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 70.
 3. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 169.

When the holy relic of Pir-i-Dastgir was brought to Kashmir, the Governor of that time in consultation with Saiyid Buzerg Shah, the leading Qadiri Sufi of the time in the Valley ordered the relic to be taken to Khanyar where it was enshrined in the Qadiri Khanqah.¹ Besides the holy relic, both the Sufis Sakhi Shah Sahib and Buzerg Shah lie buried to the east of main chamber sanctum sanctorum. Since the Khanqah was not in a position to accomodate all the devotees, therefore, during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time, Sona-ullah shawl rais of the time took the responsibility on his shoulders and extended the Khanqah and its compound.²

The architecture of the ziarat matches with the Rishi Khanqahs of Kashmir. Its wooden spire which is covered with silver cap and the windows on the western side are like those in the Rishi shrines, of Kashmir. The constructional material of the shrine includes chiselled stones, burnt bricks, cement and wood. It has three windows on the northern side, three on the southern side and seven on the western side. All these windows are surmounted with archs (mehrabs). Each window is eleven feet

-
1. The Qadiri Sufis who came to Kashmir made Khanyar Khanqah the centre of their meditation and preached Qadiri order to the locals, thus getting a large gathering of believers around. The result of their successful efforts is borne out by present day followers who are to be found in every nook and corner of the Valley. Khuṣasat-ul-Tawarikh, p.408.
 2. Ibid., p. 409.

in length and seven feet in width. The inner chamber of the shrine contains four artistic pillars which are surmounted with four tiered pentagonal roof. Each pillar is twenty two feet long and two and a half feet in girth. The shrine has all over a ceiling of artistically cut pieces which are joined together by chips. To the west the artisans have produced lunar pattern on the ceiling and from the middle of each a glass chandelier.

Conclusion:

The text of the chapter concluded here gives us a clear idea about the origin and growth various important and representative ~~ka~~ shrines of the Kashmir Valley. It makes an interesting study to follow the history of these shrines and to learn about the importance and influence of the relics housed in these shrines adds sauce to the supper.

Equally important and interesting is the question of architecture which was followed ⁱⁿ constructing these shrines. Often the style of architecture followed in raising these structures was a happy blend of various styles and patterns. The history of the shrines and their respective styles of architecture are in correct historical perspective which could be achieved by following strict chronological order.

=====

CHAPTER -- 2ND



SOCIO--CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE SHRINES:

...

► Muslim shrines have played a significant and far-reaching role in spreading Islam and propagating the teachings of Quran in every nook and corner of the Valley. Shrines became the promising institutions in imparting spiritual as well as temporal instructions. Apart from their educational importance, the shrines made an impact on the socio--cultural fabric of people throughout the Valley. The socio--cultural role of the shrine has been so profound that a true and real picture of the society cannot emerge unless it is viewed in the background of the shrines and their contribution. However, with the passage of time, the impact has been misconstrued and misrepresented owing to the illiteracy of the masses which ultimately led the people to perform such activities and functions as, to a considerable extent, deflected the shrines from their enjoined course of action. The position was confounded by the blind self-interest of the custodians (mujavirs) of the shrines. The custodians are much honoured and respected by people¹ of all sections particularly by rural masses even today, though they do not deserve what they ask for.

Kashmir has an age-old and long-standing history of shrines. Abul Fazl talked about some one hundred and thirteen old but important Hindu shrines. Besides, there were seven hundred places

1. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 237.

where stone-cut images of snakes were being worshipped. In fact Kashmir has from time immemorial been the abode of gods and goddesses, renowned mystics, lamas, sadhus, Pandits, Rishis, Pirs and fagirs.¹ Together they constituted the dominant force in society.

Faith in Shrines:

The Kashmiri Muslims professed divine faith in shrines. The credulous masses associated godly powers with the saints entombed in them.² Even those people, who, for one reason or the other, did not venture to visit these did not challenge the sanctity of the shrines. Obviously, very few people could escape the divine influence of the saints and their ziarats. It was usually felt that the key to godly favour lay in the shrines. Time and again, the seeker and the suppliant came to the shrine and tried to propitiate the saint to gain his favour and thereby secure the fulfilment of a cherished desire. The tremendous and unbounded faith made the people love and respect the shrines more than their lives. They were ready to sacrifice anything dearest to them for the sake of pir and the shrine. If the people

1. The Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 184.

In historical times we first come across sages and savants of the highest order who lived here soon after the advent of Buddhism. The Culture of Kashmir, p. 31.

2. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 187.

in Kashmir had nothing to eat, they would always donate one thing or the other to the shrine even if they had to sell some house-hold article.¹

Islam was propagated in Arabian peninsula by Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) It was a dynamic movement, and it spread far and wide in Asia, South East Asia, China, Central Asia, Africa and reached as far as Spanish Granada. On its march in different directions, Islam absorbed fresh stock of people into its fold. With the passage of time the real and simple teachings of Islam got diluted by contact with different philosophies prevalent in such countries as were conquered by the Muslims. Muslims came to Iran and they borrowed many things from Zoroastrianism. They came to India and picked up many practices from Hinduism and vedanta. Books of Greek philosophy were translated by Mamun-ur-Rashid and the Greek philosophy became a part of Islam.² Thus, Islam in course of time, lost its original simplicity and dynamism. The Muslims ~~now~~ imitated others. In India the idol worship was rampant, Islam was totally against it, but in India Islam, through its native converts, carried over the spirit of worship of objects other than God.

1. Marasila Kashmiri Panditan, 1872, p. 14.

2. Maulana Saiyid Abdul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Farikh-i-Dawat-o-Azimat, p. 121.

Thus, paradoxically the people, in course of time, came to worship Prophets, saints and shrines, though they were only to be revered and respected. The shrines and ziarats became the citadels of Muslim faith. This gave birth to polytheism (shirk) and infidelity (kufr). The Muslims following such a course had no inhibition in regarding saints and Sufis as objects of deification. Such people mostly neo-converts, as they were, carried over with them certain practices and attitudes which were un-Islamic in strictest sense of the term. In Kashmir, the transformation was quite peaceful. Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest but by persuasion and through a gradual process of conversion, the ground for which had been prepared by the foreign adventurers from south as well as Central Asia¹. In this process, the people of Kashmir, after their conversion to Islam, accepted the tradition of Islam as they received it with its institutions which had been formed in the course of its march across Iran and parts of Central Asia. One of the institutions that Islam had come to have was the shrine with its concomitants. Such institutions were readily accepted by the neo-converts in the conquered lands. Kashmir before the advent of Islam, had been the abode of Buddhism and Brahmanism. However, when the people of the Valley embraced Islam, inspite of becoming Muslims, they could not abandon their old beliefs and practices. The fact that

1. Rajatarangini, Introduction by M. A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 130.

the new converts were allowed to recite the aurad-i-fathiya in a loud voice proves the point.¹ Numerous ziarats enshrining a relic or a tomb or hospices which had been already there continued to exist and exercise great influence on the minds of men during our period of study. Consequently, the spread of Islam did not create a socio-cultural structure bereft of old customs and traditions. The faith in shrines was rampant during the period under review. The Kashmiris were of opinion that the dead saints were more powerful and effective than those alive. That is why the faith in shrines developed among the people.

The dead saint was considered to be nearer in presence to God and according to a principle widely accepted by adherents of the primitive religions the dead saint was supposed to be more fully charged with supernatural powers and influence than what he had been during his life-time. After his death, the saint was believed to become more potent in whom the divine was more intimately at home and more readily active. Naturally many more people resorted to him, and much greater pains were taken to gain access to him and to do him honour.²

1. See Infra, p. 40

2. Men assume towards him the same worshipful attitude as they have towards God, and freely think of him as one who can secure to them all the blessings for which men usually invoke God. James Hasting, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 17, p. 60

The people of Kashmir both Hindus and Muslims had profound reverence for the shrines, which were the resting places of saints. "The dead, besides being infinitely more numerous than the living, are infinitely more powerful. They reign over the vast domain of the unconscious, that invisible domain which exerts its sway over all the manifestations of the intelligence and of character. A people is guided far more by its dead than by its living members. It is by its dead, and by its dead alone, that a race is founded. Century after century our departed ancestors have fashioned our ideas and sentiments and in consequence all the motives of our conduct. The generations that have passed away do not bequeath us their physical constitution merely; they also bequeath us their thoughts. The dead are the only undisputed masters of the living"¹.

The more eminent the ancestors are, the greater is their influence on the lives of the people. With the passage of time eminent men particularly the saints and mystics came to acquire a greater sanctity. They (saints) tend to rise in the estimation of the people, especially among the more credulous who come to adore them. Among these divines were Rishis and saints like Shaikh-ul-Aalam and Lal Ded. They might have been criticised by

1. Luistave LeBon, The Psychology of Peoples quoted by H.P. Fairchild, General Psychology; p. 346. Cf. Pandharinath H. Prabhu, Hindu Social Organization.

certain people in their own times,¹ but right now they are the house-hold names in Kashmir whose memory is cherished with deep reverence and love. The Rishis and pirs acquired unbounded fame and popularity. They exercised tremendous influence over the Kashmiris by dint of their piety, austerity and selflessness. They took delightful interest in propagating unity and brotherhood. It is because of their virtues and qualities that they are still respected by Hindus and Muslims alike. As a token of love, respect and devotion to the Rishis the people constructed ziarats over their graves, enshrined their relics and preserved the places. They fixed their gaze on the shrine where the saint had spent his life of asceticism. Even the intellectuals do not hesitate to bow before the gates of dargah while passing through it. They bow their heads and with joined palms pointing towards the right direction of the shrine. They silently recite verses and then proceed to their day's work.² It must be pointed out here that the Kashmiris believe in wasalat (intercession) through the shrines

1. The Rishis particularly Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, founder of Rishi movement in Kashmir was greatly criticised by Mullahs. The reason was that the Mullahs had become parasites in the society. The Shaikh launched an anti-Mullah tirade in order to reform them. But the Mullahs reacted sharply and criticised him.
2. The people of Kashmir generally believed that a visit to the shrine will secure them their spiritual and material object. Therefore, early in the morning, we find, even now-a-days, people from all walks of life praying for their material welfare or economic gains during the day. The advocates, politicians, smugglers and research scholars all Hindus and Muslims pay equal respect to the shrine. The Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 179.

which is not what Islam preaches.¹ According to G. M. D. Sufi such a practice is detrimental to the progress and promotion of the society from the religious view point. He says further, "This habit of the wabala is, I am afraid, responsible for the habit of sifarish in life, so rampant throughout the Valley. This saps self-reliance. The seeker of sifarish is more anxious to seek the wasila than to work hard to improve his prospects".² Thus all the veneration in the Kashmiri character comes out as the Muslims approach a shrine. Alam Khundmiri, once remarked that the Kashmiris were more seen in shrines than in mosques.³ That is why the shrine worship which was common during our period of study led Lawrence to declare the Muslims of Kashmir as Pir-parast (saint-worshippers) and astan-parast (worshippers of shrines) and the attribute is appropriate.⁴

-
1. The great Hazrat Umar Second Caliph approached Hazrat Abbas, the Prophet's uncle for praying at the time of a famine, but did not turn to the grave of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) of Islam for aid and intercession. The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) has emphatically prayed to God not to let his grave be worshipped as an idol. Immam Ibn Taimiya says that it is only our good deeds that are the means of our intercession. And this is a great lesson in self-reliance and self-respect without which no people can rise in the world. Kashir, Vol. II, p. 687.
 2. G. M. D. Sufi, Kashir, Vol. II, p. 686.
 3. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 171. The remark was made by the eminent scholar in one of his lectures which he delivered at the University of Kashmir as the Visiting Professor.
 4. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 286.

Muslims have retained the characteristic custom of pir-parast from the traditions of the past when they were Hindus. The Muslims never really gave up the old Hindu religion of the country. It is due to this fact that Lawrence labelled the Muslims of Kashmir as Hindus at heart.¹

During the sultanate period the number of shrines within the Valley was perhaps small. With the passage of time the number of shrines registered a marked increase. The shrines which have been erected in the memory of Rishis and saints are living testimonies of the fact. There is hardly any locality which does not have a shrine. Even the hilly and elevated areas in the Valley have each a shrine dedicated to one Rishi or the other.² The 1971 Census enumerated one hundred and thrity four important Muslim shrines in the villages of the Valley which numbered 2940 in 1971. The considerable increase in the number of shrines speaks of the faith and attachment of the Kashmiri Muslim towards shrines. The faith of people in astans (shrines) can be measured in the context of the large masses of people who flock to them. It is curious and interesting to see devotees raising their hands collectively before a shrine in the hope of receiving the boon

1. Ibid.,
2. The Rishis remained immersed in deep meditation, maintained celibacy, and refrained from taking fish or mutton. They chose areas for their residence which were distant and far away from the hue and cry of people in order to achieve spiritual enlightenment. That is why most of the shrines of the Rishis are located in the hills and on mountain-slopes.

and bliss. The people in Kashmir would never do anything against a pir particularly those who were connected with the shrine. Muhammad-Din-Fauq says that in 1930 Mir Sayyid Maqbool Shah and his other friends Pir Hassan-ud-Din of Poonch, Zabardast Khan and he himself by chance proceeded to Verinag from Srinagar. No sooner did we reach the garden of Verinag, than the greater crowd of devotees gathered round Mir Maqbool to show their faith. The main thing that attracted the people to kiss his hands and to rub their eyes with the hands of Mir Maqbool was that he was mutwali of the ziarat of Khanyar.¹

The people performed religious exercise called dhikr² in the shrines. This method includes the reading of Quran and reciting the prayers which the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) used to recite. The devotees sing hymns mostly in Persian, in the same way as the darvesh dances his head. The mind is thrown into a whirlwind and the dancer falls into a religious ecstasy. This exercise was mostly performed in the shrines out of faith and for invoking the saints. One thing common among the Kashmiri Muslims was the

1. Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Kashmir, Vol. I, p. 164.
2. It is commemoration. In its asma-e-sifat, the names and attributes of God, are recited which is a help to the mystic in his spiritual progress. Shughl is the practising of dhikr. Shughl-i-Wafi is the dhikr of La-illah, denial of everything other than God and Shughb-i-Ithbat is the dhikr of Illallah, the affirmation of God.

conviction that saints would come to their rescue on the day of resurrection. The mystic poets of our period, out of love and devotion, believed that any one, who visited the three important Rishi shrines situated at Chrar-i-Sharif¹, Bumzoo², and Aishmuqam³ in one day by journeying on foot, would be saved from the fire of hell.⁴ This indicates the amount of hope and faith of Kashmiris in the shrines.

The failure of Jamat-i-Islami to secure a good number of seats in the Legislature at general elections since 1947 is largely attributed to the general indifference of this party towards the shrines.⁵ The Ahl-i-Hadith too could not gain satisfactory ground in the Valley during our period simply because of the faith of masses in pirs and shrines. As is very well known the Ahl-i-Hadith reject totally the belief and faith in the shrines and relics. Inevitably the Ahl-i-Hadith could not carry conviction with the masses in Kashmir.

-
1. See supra, p. 25 to 28
 2. Baba Bam-ud-Din lies buried at Bumzoo in a shrine where he used to pray to God during his lifetime. He was a faithful khalifa and disciple of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 128.
 3. See supra, p. 29 to 33
 4. The mystic Kashmiri poet says out of love and faith:

لِس گزہ بُم زو زار مقام لِس پیٹ چھ دوزخ نارسام

5. To ensure the chances of their victory at the polls the Jamat leaders and the candidates reverted to Khanqah-i-Mualla, the shrine of Shah-i-Hamadan and took the pledge there.

Generally speaking, the Kashmiris would sacrifice even their lives for the sake of shrines. The general resentment of the Muslims of Kashmir towards the followers of Ahl-i-Hadith led to the banishment and exile of some of their leaders.¹ They were coldly received and grievously hurt throughout the Valley. The faith of Kashmiris in shrines is so unshakable, that they would not accept anything that runs counter to it. Viewed in this background, it is not difficult to follow why Ahl-i-Hadith could not make much headway in the Valley. The people of Kashmir entered the premises of a shrine with a sense of mortification. They would hardly start business without calling at the shrine of a saint deceased and buried in the shrine. The young girls would pray to shrines for smart and handsome partners and married women would supplicate for the boon of a beautiful son.² The people tied cords or strings at the shrines for the fulfilment of their cherished objectives. The tying of cords had become so symbolic that it has gone into the Kashmiri literature as an admitted belief and an established fact. For instance Maqbool Shah Kralwari, the author of the work Gulrez, says:-

مینہ ترھونڈکھ باغ و بستان
گنیم دشبہ عشق آستان

-
1. See Infra, p. 166
Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I, p. 442.
 2. D.C. Sharma, Kashmir Under the Sikhs, p. 85.
 3. Maqbool Shah Kralwari, Gulrez, p. 109.

"I made a thorough search of gardens to find you,
and when I could not, I went to the shrines of Ishiq
(love) to tie the cords so that my ambitions are
fulfilled."

The faith in shrines was so much ingrained among the
common masses that even the bridegroom would not rise above the
age-old custom of going to pay respects to some neighbouring
shrine before leaving for bride's house¹(hohwur). This practice
of visiting shrines for paying salam and offering fateh still
continues. A bridegroom of the Fak pargana, would, alongwith
his friends, visit the Hazratbal shrine besides going to a local
shrine. This practice satisfied them and then they started for
bride's house. The bridegroom was followed by a group of womenfolk
who recited wanwun in praise of the deceased saint to whose shrine
the party proceeded. The practice continues to flourish even
today. The group song of the women included the praises of the
shrine in the following way:-

.....


1. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 269.

"Out of the joy of your marriage feast,
Oh, brothers be good to me,
The way is long and the shrine is far,
Where my weary feet would be"¹.

In fact, the verses of wanwun (folk song) sung in the memory of saints and shrines are remembered by an overwhelming majority of womenfolk. Today such praises exist in a modified form. At the time of cutting hair of the bridegroom the women recited as follows:-

"Dastgir Sahib blessed you and it is now the occasion to have your hair dressed fashionably"

"I have full faith in Shah-i-Hamadan, who would protect the bridegroom"

" bow to the religion preached by Holy Prophet, The giver of purity and auspiciousness to our hearts"

"Pir-i-Piran Hazrat Gousul Azam will protect your tender body who is your custodian"².

1. Marion Doughty, A Foot Through Kashmir Valley, p. 39.
2. These verses have been obtained from an old lady. These, she said, were sung when bridegroom proceeded towards the shrine. The contents embodying the verses lay bare the fact that women too were aware of the importance of the great saints like Pir-i-dastgir, Shah-i-Hamadan and others in propagating the mission in the Valley and, therefore, people's faith in them. That is why we see more women instead of men at the shrines, though they are prohibited to do any such thing.

Not only this, the child at the age of four or five years was circumcised (khutna). This was an occasion of great rejoicing. But before the circumcision of the child, the guests, relatives and neighbours went off to the neighbouring shrine with the boy¹ and returned to the house for feast. He was and is commonly known as Sunnat Maharaz. All this clearly indicates that the shrines were part and parcel of the daily life of the people during the period under survey. The shrines played a vital role in the life of Muslims of Kashmir and had a tremendous socio-cultural impact. The shrines have, in course of time, become powerful force in the Valley because of their wide geographical distribution.

1. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 27.

Faith in Relics:

•••

There are four different forms of worship found in Hindu religion. Sir John Wood Roffee writes that the realization of the individual soul and universal self is the ultimate object of worship. Constant meditation upon the devata (deity) in the heart is the lower and middle-most. Recitation of hymnsⁿ is still lower and the lowest of all is the external worship.¹ With our faith either in shrines or belief in pirs emerge other objects of worship, we call relics. These relics are an integral part of the shrines. There was conversion of a sizeable section of indigenous population to Islam in the 14th century in Kashmir. The neo-converts who had been used to worship of relics carried over the external worship in its various forms as a part of their heritage. The faith in relics of these neo-Muslims remained intact even after their conversion.

1. In external worship, there is worship of an image, a diagram or a relic as it has close relationship with the enlightened person who is being worshipped. Sir John Wood Roffee, An Introduction to Tantra Sastra, p. 74.

Relic is a symbol with men of saintly character, who have done some karamat (miracle) and who by working wonders have influenced and motivated the religio--spiritual and philosophical outlook of a large section of human race. Relic is either a part or whole of khirqa (clothes), dastar (turban) aasai-sharif (cane), pae-mubarak (foot-print), aalam (tent-pole) moe-mubarak (hair). In most primitive societies of the world, we find that the relics were not only revered and respected but adored and worshipped. This practice still continues in many parts of the world.¹

In India the faith in and worship of relics attained its prominence after the death of Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha himself during his lifetime had not even remotely suggested the preservation or enshrinement of a relic, to say nothing of its worship. Nonetheless after the demise of Lord Buddha, the Mahayan Buddhism, a splinter group of the mainstream came to adore the Buddha and his various relics. With the passage of time, many stupas Caityas were raised where the relics of Lord Buddha and other prominent preachers of Buddhism were enshrined for the believers and devotees to adore.

Kashmir, the dwelling place of Hindus and Buddhists became a centre of worship of the Buddha and his relics. The archaeological survey followed by the excavations at Harwan, Ushkur, and Ahan have revealed the existence of Buddhist relics.

1. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 83.

There is another place in the Buddhaghama present Budgam area where a huge stone and some relics exist today.¹ Thus the origin of relics in Kashmir goes back^{to} ancient times.

The local centre of the saints influence after his death is his tomb. From that shrine, the neighbouring community of which he is the patron spirit extension of benefit evolves. But the virtue of the Wali may be carried to any distance by his relic. Though many great saints and Walīs who never visited Kashmir, cultivated good name and fame among the Kashmiri Muslims. The saints like Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani, a world renowned saint had never come to Kashmir. His relic was brought to Kashmir and was enshrined at Khanyar. The people of all walks visited the shrine and invoked his name² even today. The relics that have been closely associated with the saintly people are supposed to be under his care and to share in the blessing of his efficacious influence.

The enshrining of relics and their adoration is not permitted by the injunctions of Quran and Hadith. But many Muslims have borrowed these practices from other religions particularly of those people under whose influence and domination

1. F. M. Hussnain, Heritage of Kashmir, pp. 38--39.

2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 292.

had remained before they embraced Islam. It was not only difficult but will nigh impossible for them to forsake all the age-old traditions. For example, a few places in India, Pakistan and Turkey possess relics of holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.).¹

After the spread of Islam in the Valley, many relics were introduced in the name of great Sufi saints and were enshrined at different places. Pir Hasan Shah Khuihami in his remarkable contribution Tarikh-i-Hasan, Volume III mentions some fifty eight sacred relics available in the Valley.² There are many other relics like pae-mubarak (foot print) at petipora Pulwama which has not been mentioned in the Tarikhs. The Kashmiris have developed faith in relics. The fairs and festivals held annually at various shrines are the occasions when such relics are displayed.

The Kashmiris faith in relics can be observed from the fact that on such an occasion as the relic of a non-local saint arrived in Kashmir, the natives flocked in thousands to receive the relic with honour and faith.³ According to the author of

1. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 83.
2. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 171.
3. Muhammad Azam Dedamari, Waqiat-i-Kashmir, f. 145a.
Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 481.
Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 305.

Tarikh-i-Hasan, while exhibiting the relic (moe-mubarak) of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) for the first time in Srinagar at the shrine of Naqshband Sahib, the crowd was so large that many people were trampled to death in the stampede.¹ The relic enshrined at Hazratbal is an object commanding tremendous reverence of the people of Kashmir. They can sacrifice anything dearest for the sake of Hazratbal shrine. In 1963, when moe-mugaddas (hair relic) of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) was found missing from the shrine of Hazratbal, the information spread far and wide like wild fire. It caused widespread anger and panic among the people. Lakhs of demonstrators with black flags appeared enmasse into the streets and open spaces of Srinagar. In spite of rigours of biting cold and frost there was no let up in the march of anguished demonstrators. The people throughout the Valley got annoyed and frustrated and forgot two time meals.²

According to Tarikh-i-Kabir, the holy relic (hair) of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani was and still is revered and venerated by the people of Kashmir. He further adds that on the way to the

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 481. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 293.

Four other shrines in Srinagar boast that they possess a hair of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) --- These shrines are located at Kalashpora, Anderwara, Soura and Dangarpora. There is a belief that the hair shown at the shrine of village Khirm Sirhama in pargana Dachinpora is genuine. There are other relics like footprint of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) at different places. For example the footprint at Fatehpura (Islamabad) and Petipora (Pulwama) are exhibited to the devotees on Urs occasions.

2. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 307.

However, the relic was restored which even Pandit Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India said with a sigh of relief to B. N. Mullik who informed the former of its recovery. "God bless you". Geography of Jammu & Kashmir, p. 178.

shrine, the people showered thousands of rupees on the relic so that many poor people who had gathered around could enrich¹ themselves by collecting the money. Besides this, the two holy relics which were in the possession of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani were obtained by two prominent Kashmiris namely Ladi Magrey and Malik Devi Ganai who brought them to the Valley after passing through many trials and tribulation. These were later enshrined at Khanqah-i-Mualla. The faith in relics grew so much that it ultimately led to their worship in Kashmir.² During the period of our study when any kind of natural calamity occurred, the Muslims having faith in these relics carried the holy relics particularly tent-pole of Khanqah-i-Mualla in a procession to Chrar-i-Sharif.³ It is said that during the time of Maharaja Hari Singh, the Maharaja arranged for khatm-khwani⁴ under the supervision of Hasan Shah Banday (mutwali of the ziarat of dargah) for the birth of a son. The participants in the khatm-khwani were served with

-
1. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Miskin Saraibali, op. cit., f. 323a.
 2. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 83.
 3. This information was supplied to me by Muhammad Amin Farooqi (Naib Immam of Hazratbal shrine) in an interview)
 4. In Khatm-khwani Quranic verses and darud are recited. However, the gathering which consisted of traditional pirs to observe khatm-sharif recited the litanies for invoking the help of saint or saints. Thus we have khatm-i-sharif of many Sufi saints like Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani and other saints. In Maulud-i-Sharif, the praises of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) are recited.

wazwan (feasts) and were paid one to two rupees each.¹ The people of pargana Dachinpora and Khowurpora during the time of natural calamities carried the tent-pole of Baba Zain-ud-Din of Aishmuqam in a procession to Naginbal², where two rakats of naufl were offered toward ~~off~~ the calamity. "In 1823 A.D. Moorcraft observed that ziarat of Shahr-ud-Din had a brass headed pike said to have been in walking staff, his Quran and his chaplet of heads of clay from Kerbala and were shown to the faithful who kiss them with pious zeal".³

There is a stone at Shopian which has reportedly the impression of foot of Shah-i-Hamadan and for that reason it has been venerated by the Kashmiris. The Kashmiris considered their visit to shrines particularly on Urs occasions incomplete without having a deedar of the relic of the saint which is exhibited before the mob. The pre-vallence of faith in relics in the Valley led Lawrence to assert, "I have rarely been in any village which cannot show some relics of antiquity".⁴

-
1. This information was supplied to me by Muhammad Amin Farooqi.
 2. It is said that the place was considered sacred. It was there that the saint Baba Zain-ud-Din guarded his asai-sharif in the ground and water came out. Presently the whole Aishmuqam is supplied water from that nag. There is also a mosque.
 3. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 84.
 4. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 286.

► Fairs and Festivals:

The faith of the Kashmiris in saints, sadats, walis. Shrines and relics was matched by the zeal with which they were seen to perform various fairs and festivals celebrated annually in memory of the saints and sadats. On such occasions as these the devoted followers of the saints flocked to their shrines illuminated The tombs and ziarats and sat for night long prayer and penance. Contrary to the teachings of Islam the people believed that the practice of pir parasti (worship of saints) and mazar parasti (worship of the tombs) would bring them their cherished object. The practice is still in vogue.

The history of celebrating the festivals with proper rites and ceremonies goes back to primitive time. But the birth and development of Islam in Arabian peninsula put an end to all the festive ceremonies-- having no meaning other than prodigal spending due to false vanity. However, with the expansion of Islam in various directions the strict injunctions of Islam got diluted with local customs and traditions and the fairs and festivals, challenged and rejected by Islam came to be performed with enthusiasam. The shrines and tombs built in memory of saints and heroes of early Islam became the centres of pilgrimage.¹ About medieval Kashmir, we have little information about festivals and

1. Edward Mortimer, Faith and Power, p. 58.

their celebrations. Therefore, it is not easy to determine the extent to which the local conditions influenced the nature of their celebrations.¹ But during our period of study, the fairs and festivals were celebrated with fervour and zeal. There is no reference to show that any exotic factors, influenced the mode of the festivals in Kashmir. But it is crystal clear that through the infiltration of local Hindu and Buddhist customs and beliefs the native converts to Islam retained the festivals and their celebrations. Kashmiris, with their rich cultural heritage and background have been taking great interest in "celebrating festivals with elaborate and colourful ceremonies"². The Kashmiris coming from the same stock had and still have resemblances in social customs and ceremonies, though among themselves they are split into various segments as the fallowers of different faiths. Their rituals³ and ceremonies are alike which may differ those observed by people outside Kashmir.⁴ There are

-
1. Dr. Mohd Ashraf, Socio-Economic Conditions During Medieval Period, Unpublished thesis.
 2. M. I. Khan, History of Srinagar, p. 99.
 3. Ritual is a form of worship reduced to the routine of habit. Man's increasing effort to win happiness and keep off troubles takes the two forms of religion and magic which are not always kept apart even in the higher religions. The history goes back to the Rigveda samhita enjoining the rigid principle of conformity to the order of the sacrificial ritual. V. M. Apte, Vedic Rituals, Vol. I, p.234.
 4. S. M. Iqbal and K. L. Nirash, op. cit., p. 31.

many places in Kashmir where Hindu and Muslim live in close proximity and some times their festival dates are the same. The fairs and festivals involved almost all the sections of people during our period of study. Different communities like Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs celebrated their holy days and anniversaries in honour of their world renowned gods, gurus, saints, heroes, martyrs and others. The Kashmiri Pandits celebrated many festivals like Shivratri, Navreh (new year's day), Baisakhi, Harnavmi, Jethastami, Dusserah (or Vijaydashmi) and Kambri Pach.¹ The Hindus celebrated all these festivals with interest and zeal and held customary ceremonies on many religious festivals. But the most important among all the festivals was Sheoratri (Herat). This was celebrated with gusto and at a large expense. It commenced from the first day of dark fortnight of Phalgun (February--March). Offerings were made to an incarnation of Shiva, known as Bhairav and he was worshipped on the eve of Shivratri. On the Shivratri the Hindus obliged their married daughters with presents². The Hindu women like Muslim ladies sung the Ruf songs On the eve of festivals.³ Similarly the Sikhs celebrated their festivals with great hustle and bustle. They celebrated the

1. W. R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 266.
The Culture of Kashmir, pp. 39-40.

2. Daughters also received presents on the Navreh, Harsatam, Vethtruwah, Janam Ashtami, Khich Mawas, Shushar, Sankrat, Lawrence, op. cit., p. 266.

3. Ibid.,

anniversaries of ten gurus (religious chiefs). The anniversary of Guru Har Gobind whose Dharmsala stands near Hari Parbat¹ at the entrance gate of Kathidarwaza, was celebrated with great ceremony. But among all the religious festivals, the anniversary of Guru Nanak was celebrated with great eclat and enthusiasm.

The frequency of festivals and fairs among the Muslims of Kashmir had a great socio-cultural dimension. Though Islamic injunctions did not permit the celebration of such festivals, except two great occasions of Idds namely Idd-ul-Fitr² and Idd-ul-Zuha³. Muslims irrespective of social status celebrated these two festivals with great rejoicing and merrymaking. The people exchanged good wishes and Idd-mubarak on the occasion. Its celebration was so common that even the saints, inspite of their seclusion came out of it on Idd days. The visitors were entertained with delicious feasts. The regular feature of 'Idd' was

-
1. Ibid., p. 301.
 2. The most celebrated and popular festival was Idd which marked the end of the month of Ramzan (fast-keeping month) Idd, means happiness. The philosophy behind its celebration is to share the happiness among the poor neighbours and poor relatives, So as to bring them out from the distress and destitution and make them equally happy and joyous. This festival was celebrated with great fervour during our period.
 3. Falling on the tenth of Zilhaj, the twelfth month of the Muslim calender, it has always been an important festival held in commemoration of Prophet Ibrahim offering his second son Ismail as sacrifice. Ismail miraculously escaped the atonemat through a Dumba (a kind of sheep with thick tail). N. P. Srivastava, Society and Culture in Medieval India, p. 111.

distribution of presents known as 'Iddis! The Idds were performed and celebrated with passionate zeal and the people visited the neighbouring shrines on these occasions. Melas (fairs) were held at shrines on the eve of Idd¹. New dresses were put on. The Milad-un-Nabi another important festival was celebrated with great fervour. The people recited daruds and thronged the shrines particularly those that possess the relics of the holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) The Hazratbal shrine was flocked by all communities in great number. However, it should be borne in mind that Prophet Muhammad's (p.b.u.h.) birth-day was celebrated for the first time in the 7th century Hijra². Another important festival was the celebration of Muharram (Yaumi Aashora)³. The Shias on the occasion took out the processions to Immam-baras⁴ and performed Majalis (congregational mourning sessions)

1. The practice of celebrating 'Idds as melas at shrines was a common feature during our period of study. In village Litter pargana Shahoorah, a great fair was held at the shrine of Saiyid Ahmad Qureshi on the occasion of 'Idd! The 'Idd' fairs are held with great eclat even today.
2. Muslim, Safar, 1360, A.H., p. 4.
3. It was on Aashora that is, tenth of Muharrum that Immam-i-Hussain alongwith his seventy two companions fought bravely from morning till afternoon against the forces of Yazid. It was on the same day that Immam-i-Hussain was himself martyred.
4. When any one of Immam Hussain's companions was slayed he would go to the Khimahgah lodged in the plains of Karbala in order to condole the bereaved relatives of the martyr. Tents of the Khimahgah resembled the shape of an Immambara. Immambara is thus considered to be a place where people would assemble and pay tribute to Immam-Hussain for his martyrdom and condole one another for the deep feelings over happenings of Karbala.

on the happening of Karbala. There was and still continues to be four stages of mersia:-

1. Hamud, praises to the unity of God;
2. Nath, narration of Uswah of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.);
3. Madha, praises of Seerah of house hold of Prophet (p.b.u.h); and;
4. Dardh, narration of happenings in Kerbala and tyranny of Yazid on Immam and his householders.

The mourners beat their breasts and sometimes it caused them injuries.¹ This represented a state where the sentiments of mourners were shaken and they beat their breasts according to the rythm of the dard, a part of the mersia. One important characteristic of the procession was the taking out of a horse at lead, which resembled the Zuljanah² of Immam Hussain. The people also recited the praises of the horse on tenth of Muharram.

Feasts were arranged for the recitors of elegi²s. The Sunnis did not take out processions on the occasion but they distributed cooked rice (Tahar)³.

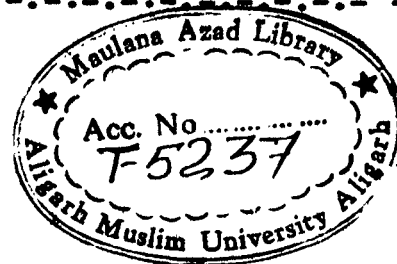
-
1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 102.
 2. The 10th day celebrations of Muharram were accompanied with horse, resembling that of Zuljinah, name of the horse of Immam-Hussain. The Zuljinah was brave and well trained and very faithful to his master. The weeping wounds did not tire him upto the last that is when its master was martyred, he stood bravely and repeated the same act of his master that is to go to the Khimagah after the martyrdom of anyone of the partymen of the champion, Immam Hussain. Now that Immam Hussain was himself martyred, the masters horse went towards Khimagah. The scene is repeated in the procession of Zuljinah on tenth of Muharram.
 3. The practice of distribution of Tahar among the children was the very common feature of the Sunis of Srinagar. M.I. Khan, op. cit., p. 102. The villagers prepared dudwagra (rice cooked in milk) on the tenth of Muharram and the children took it by using one trami for four heads. This practice is common even today.

Besides, these, many other shabs namely., Shab-i-Barat, Shab-i-Qadr and Shab-i-Mehra¹ are celebrated by the Muslims. During the entire course of above said nights the Muslims of Kashmir including women folk visited the shrines and remained wide awake for the whole night and recited the daruds and other wazifas. The people visited the shrines with many solicitations.²

Apart from the celebration of international festivals, Kashmiris celebrated many other festivals with local hue and colour. These were the most important festive occasions. These included the celebrations of the anniversaries of the deceased saints. People of different age groups participated in them. As already stated there was hardly any locality devoid of a relic or tomb of a saint i.e. shrine. The anniversaries and other celebrations at shrines led Lawrence to assert that annual fairs held at various shrines were red letter days in the dull and monotonous lives of Kashmiris³.

Kashmiris, traditionally conservative and fatalist believed that non-celebration of the festivals at shrines would bring them curse and cause trouble and difficulty to the locality around the shrine. They celebrated the anniversaries according to the traditional interpretations of their ancestors, though it

-
1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 102.
 2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.
 3. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.



was irrelevant to the teachings of Islam. At certain places the people took pure vegetarian meal during festivals of many saints. Thus the residents of Aishmugam did not eat meat during the death anniversary of the saint. This had not become obligatory on the Muslims only, the Hindus of the locality followed the rule. In pargana Dachinipora and Khowrpora, most of the population do not even today eat meat on the anniversaries of saints. Similarly, Hazrat Shaikh Daud, a disciple of Shaikh Hamza enshrined at Batmalloo was one more example on whose anniversaries the eating of meat was completely prohibited and even the guests were served vegetarian food. They considered the breach of this custom a sin which resulted in calamities particularly fire. Similarly, one more disciple of Hazrat Makhdum known as Baba Herdi Rishi or Hyder Rishi popularly known as Rishimol spent his whole life in celibacy. "It is believed that anyone who visits his shrine having taken mutton, fish or other stimulants invariably meets some sort of tragedy. The orthodox believers do not take any of these things for about a week's time when festival is in progress"¹. The foregoing discussion shows the spirit and piety that regulate the festivals at shrines. The taking of vegetables only during the festive occasions by people living in different localities testified the fact of strict adherence to the age-old tradition and customs. This custom of

1. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, pp. 192--93.

refraining from eating mutton had been criticised by many contemporary scholars like Shaikh Ahmad Trali. He criticised it by putting forth extract from Quran, Hadith and other scholars¹.

The Kashmiris looked forward to fairs and festivals as impatiently as one looks forward to the fourteenth moon of the lunar fortnight fourteenth moon. They gathered together in a huge crowd and "spent the day eating and buying articles, such as pretty kangris (fire-pots) wooden patterns, glass bangles, necklaces and painted clay toys. Cobblers were hard at work repairing shoes, sweetmeat sellers had a roaring trade"². The women folk used to sit on the left side of the shrine in thousands. They were busy in "eating sweets, talking and sucking their infants"³. The Muslims of Kashmir celebrated many more festivals with great enthusiasm. These were the birth and death days of the saints and these were quite large in number. On these occasions feasts were prepared and thrown in every family. The residents of the locality invited their friends and relatives on festive occasions and the latter reciprocated in turn. A short funny story on the tip of every tongue in Kashmir says that some non-

1. Shaikh Ahmad Trali, Risala Dher Gosh Khurdn Hazrat Rishi, R&P NO: 1056.
2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.
3. Ibid.,

Kashmiri married a Kashmiri woman and being fed up with huge expenditure on meat and other articles during innumerable Muslim festivals of the above nature, he left his wife and went to his own land. When contacted by letters he replied, "I will return only when the festivals there end." This shows the lavish expenditure of Kashmiris on festivals.

Almost all the shrines in Kashmir were the homes of melas. Atleast once a year a festival was held on the death anniversary of the saint. These shrines were visited by people in the immediate neighbourhood and even by travellers from far off places. It seems befitting and has been rightly stated by James Hastings, "Local centre of the saints influence after his death is his tomb. From that centre a tutelary benefit extends over the neighbouring community, of which he is patron the patron spirit".¹ It is very difficult to give a detailed account of all the festive ceremonies at all the shrines separately in a comprehensive form and, therefore, attempt has been made to examine the very important of these.

There were and still are some important shrines of well-known saints who had tremendous impact upon the socio-cultural life of every Kashmiri during our period. These shrines were thronged by people in congregation both from Kashmir and outside round the year, particularly on festive occasions. They left a

1. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 68

deep imprint, on the lives of people. Their Urs celebrations attracted the people from far and near. Among these festivals of Muslims of Kashmir must be mentioned Urs-i-Hazratbal, Urs-i-Makhdoom Sahib, Urs-i-Shah-i-Hamadan, Urs-i-Pir dastgir, Urs-i-Naqshband Sahib, Urs-i-Shaikh-ul-Alam, Urs-i-Zain-ud-din, and Urs-i-Payam-ud-Din etc.

The people of Kashmir visited the shrines mostly during the Urs (festival) of the deceased saints. The people impatiently looked forward to festivals in order to celebrate them. Here we mention the above shrines alongwith the way in which certain festivals at these shrines were held. The shrines selected are as under:-

Hazratbal:

The shrine of Hazratbal is beautifully situated on the shores of the Dal lake. The shrine was and is still the holiest shrine for the Muslims of Kashmir as it contains the holy relic (hair) of holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) People from all parts of the Valley rushed in thousands during the time of Urs (fair).¹ The hair relic (hair) was, as it still is, exhibited on the eve of Idd-i-Milad, the Urs-i-Qaryar, on the occasion of Mehraj-i-Sharif, and on the Fridays following each of the festivals.² But during

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 483.

2. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 306.

the month of Rabi-ul-awal, the festival lasted for twelve days and the people thronged the shrine during this period for a view of the relic and for offering prayers.¹ During the Urs period, the people recited naths, daruds, zikhru-azkar, khatmat-u-maunmat at the shrine. Many Muslims blessed by the 'Ishiq-Rasul' (love for Prophet p.b.u.h.) have said many verses called nath-i-sharif which are aimed at praising and glorifying the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), are directly addressed to him. One example of such verse was composed several years ago by Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Kashmiri (nath composer). The verse is directly addressed to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.).

"This morning breeze is expected to go to the resting place of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) of Medina and convey to him my condition as he is the sole helper of mine; please tell him that a poor Kashmiri has fallen back upon; Tell him that your benedictions are vast and grant me a grain out of that; Tell him to help the helpless and request him that it is not the time to ignore the poor people".²

This verse was selected for recitation by the devotees at Hazratbal shrine during festive occasions, to invoke the blessings of the Rasul-i-Pagamber (p.b.u.h.). This has become an established fact for Muslims of Kashmir to recite the above

1. Historical Geography of Kashmir, op. cit., p. 185.

2. Gulshan Naat-i-Kalam, p. 9.

said verses of such blessed personalities in the shrines and mosques in ^{between} Farz and Sunnat prayers of Fajr (morning). Dargah Hazratbal has been an important place of pilgrimage for lakhs of people from far and near. Even on each Friday, the people attended the shrine in large numbers for congregational prayers. The people of pargana Fak came there and they still keep coming to the shrine for Juma (Friday) prayers.¹

During our period of study no transport facilities were there. The people particularly villagers used to come mostly on foot.² Even today most age-old people like to go on foot particularly from Saida Kadal bridge onwards. The villagers eagerly looked forward to the celebration and their participation in the Urs at Hazratbal. About their participation Dr. Neve remarked, "There are the great days to which the people especially the women and children look forward, for not only is there the display at shrines, but the opportunity of showing off"-- the best they possessed and of seeing the shops of the city and

1. While talking to many age-old people of pargana Fak, they said, "We feel dissatisfied if we don't visit the shrine once a week."
2. In earlier times people of the city came to Dargah in doongas, shikaras and boats of various sizes and coming on foot was considered to be an act of fetching pleasure of the Almighty. Even some people walked barefooted all the way holding their footwear in their hands atleast from some distance.

making purchases. A bundle on the man's back contains a few days rice and condiments.¹ The devotees brought home tabruk from the shrine. The people considered it an act of piety to bring the tabruk for people at home. The recipient of the tabruk at home had to read Bismillah while stretching his hands for receiving the tabruk. Sometimes, the tabruk of shrine (sweets) Metch (clay) was received against cash payments to the mujavirs. This was preserved by the devotees and used it for treatment of any ailing person at home, as doctors were few and the people being superstitious considered it as the best mode of treatment.

Makhdoom Sahib:

...

The shrine of Makhdoom Sahib too occupies a very important place in Shesh buga² (six holy places) and wields a powerful influence on the masses. People in large numbers visited the

1. Dr. Neve, Thirty years in Kashmir, pp. 301-302. This remark of Dr. Neve shows that the poor villagers particularly women came to the city shrines as much out of devotion as out of fondness to exhibit their own clothes and jewellery. They made the purchases if they could afford to do so. They brought a few days ration and also a cock which they offered to the Mullah because being superstitious, they could not do otherwise.
2. Lawrence, while comparing many answers to his various questions pertaining to the important shrines of Kashmir, found the six muslim religious places of great rank and respect. These were and still are 1. Hazratbal, 2. Shah-i-Hamadan (Khanqah); 3. Jamia Masjid, 4. Shrine of Nur-ud-Din at Chrar-i-Sharif, 5. Ziarat of dastagir-i-sahib at Khanyar, 6. Ziarat of Makhdoom Sahib at Hari Parbat. These when taken together are called Shesh Buga. Lawrence, op.cit., p. 292. Further in a interview with Moulvi Mohd Seyid Masoodi of Ganderbal, the author of this work could confirm that the term Shesh Buga was the collective nomenclature of the six shrines named above.

shrine for religious merit and material and vantage. A festival is still celebrated on the eve of Hazrat Shaikh's death anniversary, which lasted for twelve days upto 24th of Safar which is the date of Shaikh's demise.¹ The people in thousands from neighbouring countryside and Srinagar city thronged the shrine from 13th to 24th Safar to offer prayers and paid homage to the deceased saint. The concluding session of the Urs was and is even now celebrated with great zeal and zest. On this day thousands of people, men, women, children, old and young and even Hindus visited the shrine.² This shows that the people of Kashmir had, as they continue to have, respect for the noble souls who once preached the message of Islam. Apart from days of Urs the people visited the shrine on Mondays and Thursdays. During Urs period the verses of Khatmat-i-Mehboob-ul-Alam and Ajkars were recited in loud voice. The daruds and wazaif were recited to invoke the blessings of the Pir.³ The devotees and believers considered the ziarat as a means to warding off the evils and securing the grant of favours, both spiritual and mundane.⁴ Besides all the above mentioned occasions the people

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, p. 171.
2. Ibid.,
3. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 172.
4. Ibid.,

approached the shrine during the time of natural calamities like famines and floods owing to excessive rainfall. According to the usual tradition the Kashmiris brought the water in jugs, jars, and pales and poured that into the pond of Makhdoom Sahib in order to get rid of the catastrophe. ^{people on the occasion of Urs recited the verses in} The praise of the deceased saint. These verses were recited collectively.

However, it is not out of place to mention here that a very few visitors and devotees were seriously concerned about the principles and teachings of the great saint. Mostly the people came to participate in the Urs to show off their pelf. The beggars who flocked there to beg alms created a lot of noise and nuisance. While all this went on, the mujavirs were busy in extracting money from the innocent devotees thus deviating from the main aim of the celebration. The shopkeepers were absorbed in their own money making activity. In this atmosphere the people caught up in the mood of festivity, scarcely showed any disposition or inclination towards acquisition of religious or spiritual merit.¹ In earlier times people sought favours from Makhdoom Sahib because they had implicit faith in his immense power to grant boons to them.²

1. Kh. Gh. Mohi-ud-Din, Tohfa-i-Mehboobi, pp. 60, 62.

2. George Foster, Vol. I, p. 285.

Dastgir Sahibs Shrine:

•••

The shrine at Khanyar known as Dastgir Sahib is dedicated to the world renowned saint Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani popularly known as Gous-ul-Azam, Mehboob-i-Subhani and Peri-dastgir. The Muslims and the Hindus had and they still have immense faith in the power of the shrine and the holy relic it enshrines. Even passer by stood erect for a while in silence to do their obeisance (sajda). The people all over the Valley flocked in large numbers on the occasion of the Urs (11th Rabi-us-Thani) to celebrate the death anniversary of the saint with zeal and enthusiasm¹. The festival lasted eleven days. This started on first of Rabi-us-Thani upto 11th of the same month which was the day of demise of the saint.² The devotees and believers recited Khalmat-u-muazmat, and nath khwani.

Besides and above all, the verses and words of Aurad-i-Qadriya and kibriyat sharif were recited either in the form of dhikr or loudly. Some people got involved in dhikr for mental peace and spiritual merit. The 11th date of Rabi-us-Thani had and still continues to have so much traditional fervour that the Kashmiris considered this date to be the luckiest of all. The

1. Kh. Gh. Mohi-ud-Din Miskin, op. cit., p. 323.

2. Ganyat-u-Tahbin (Urdu translation of Amanullah Khan), p. 30.

emergence of (kahnov) is the direct inference from the eleventh day of the month. The devotees recited loudly the following verses in order to invoke the saint Ya Shaikh Sayyid Abdul Qadir Shayan-Ilah (Oh Shaikh give us something for the sake of God). They also recited Ya Shai Baghdad Kar Imdad (Oh King of Baghdad help us). These citations were also recited in almost every mosque of Kashmir particularly on the occasions of Shab-i-Mehraj, Shab-i-Qadr, Shab-i-Barat and during the periods of Urs of many saints like Makhdoom Sahib and Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. The people thought the celebrations to be in-complete without the recitation of duruds, naths and praises in honour of the saints. Really gigantic and tremendous was the driving spirit of Pir-i-dastgir. This spirit was found to operate in every effort and endeavour. The porters carrying cartloads of articles, timber, fuel, iron, cement, items of grocery, drapery, grains and any other effects keep on shouting "Ya Pir Dastgir" (Oh mentor lift us to the size of the burden we carry). It was also the cherished call of the hanjis² (boatmen). An intellectual worker would not feel shy in expressing the same terms while he

1. There is general belief that 'Kahnov' grants boons to the devotees and bestows favours on his followers. The custom of offering tea on certain specific days is known as 'kahnav chai'. The Kashmiri Pandits also have faith in Kahnov.

2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 292.

n १११

sat working at his desk. The Ya Pir Dastgir is a household expression that inspired the people of Kashmir while they were busy doing their jobs.

Khanqah-i-Mualla:

Khanqah-i-Mualla, the most famous shrine of the Muslims of Kashmir is the place which Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani choose as his abode. Ever since the place has been regarded as a holy shrine and a place of pilgrimage. The shrine occupies a very remarkable position among the important shrines of Kashmir popularly known as 'Shesh Buqa' (six important shrines).¹ At Khanqah-i-Mualla a festival was organized every year on 6th Zilhi^j (the 12th lunar month), the anniver^ssary of the great saint.² Thousands of devotees from all parts of Kashmir attended the Urs in order to offer prayers.³ The people considered the shrine as a source of meditation and a place for grant of boons⁴. The Kashmir had absolute faith in the relics enshrined at Khanqah-i-Mualla viz., the 'Alam' (tent-pole) and 'Aasar Sharif' (holy stick). These relics were exhibited before the devotees during

1. See Supra, pp. 84
2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, op. cit., pp. 16--17.
3. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 190.
4. Tarikh-i-Hasan, p. 17.

the days of the festival. The people recited Aurad-i-fathiya. Although based on the Quran and prayers of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.), some portions of the aurad comprise supplications of many Sufis whom the Sayyid is said to have met during his extensive travels in the Muslim world.¹ At the time of recitation of aurad it was not uncommon to see Muslims standing on knees with their faces towards Hujra-i-khas (the main chamber) where in Shah-Hamadan meditated, practised penance and prayed. The last phase of aurad was and is recited in chorus by Kashmiri Muslims. The faithful joined palms in a standing fashion offered reverential salutations to the Prophet of Islam. The devotees burst into tears, cries and loud lamentations at the time of prayer. The recitation of aurad has become an established practice in all the mosques particularly at the time of morning prayers. The tone of the recitation of the aurad-i-fathiya, at the Khanqah of Shaikh Ismail Kubravi was so loud that people residing at Shalimar across the Dal Lale could hear the voice.²

Similarly, the fairs and festivals in commemoration of great Rishis whose shrines are established throughout the Valley had a very significant impact on the blunt ^{and} obtuse lives of Kashmiris. The Rishis being natives were very close to the common

1. M. I. Khan, An Article Presented at the International Seminar organized by J.N.U., February, 1988.

2. Kashur Encyclopaedia, p. 154.

people in their socio-cultural tradition. Therefore the Rishis played a significant role in moulding and shaping the life and character of the masses. They preached in Kashmiri language which went straight in the mind and heart of the people. Alongwith the Rishis, their respective abodes became sacred places of pilgrimage. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Nurani verily occupies the first place in the Rishi order. For this reason the Sheikh himself was called and is still called as the Alam-dar-i-i-Kashmir. (The leader of Rishi order in Kashmir). The people believed that a pilgrimage to his ziarat at Charar-i-Sharif was next to Hajj¹. The time of Urs was considered to be full of benediction and blessing. ~~Only~~ Obviously, the people of Kashmir marched on foot to celebrate, the festivals.

The shrines belonging to Shaikh Nur-ud-Din at Charar-i-Sharif, Baba Zain-ud-Din of Aishmuqam and his Khalifa Baba Payam-ud-Din at Ranbua in Pargana Bangil were the more popular and distinguished ones and the Kashmiris in general and villagers in particular often visited these shrines². The Rishis particularly Shaikh Nur-ud-Din toured most parts of the Valley to preach his faith and instil the spirit of brotherhood. At a number of places

1. The people owing to ruthlessness of foreign yoke turned miserable and poor. As such the number of pilgrims to Mecca was not considerable. The people, therefore, fell back upon Char-i-Sharif in place of Mecca in order to quench the thirst visited the shrine particularly Char-i-Sherif.
2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 287.
D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 91.

have erected^{*} shrines in his name. His influence and impact among Kashmiris is so powerful that coins were struck in his name by the Afghan Governor, Atta Mohammad (1800-05).¹ Not only this, the incharge of shrines known as rishis who were called who were called by Lawrence Wami² (illiterate) respected everywhere in Kashmir. The Shaikhs death anniversary which according to Kashmiri tradition falls in the month of Poh (December) was celebrated at many places, where shrines are associated with his name. But the most important among these was at Chrar, where Shaikh is himself entombed. Besides, the anniversaries of Baba Zain-ud-Din and Baba Payam-ud-Din were celebrated by the people. The people besides narrating khatmat and wazief, performed dhikhr. They recited the verses in their praise particularly the khatmat of the respective saints to invoke their blessings.

The people prepared for participation before and were dressed in new clothes in order to show them off, who in large numbers assembled at their respective shrines. They while visiting the shrine did not forget the mutwalis and rishis who in return gave them taburuks () not only for themselves but also for their family members too. These tabaruks included shirin, sweets and tanghet³ (dried chips of pear).

.....

See Imbra, p.

1. No other saint perhaps in human history, has ever had coins struck in his name.
2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 287.
3. The village named Chrar-i-Sharif had abundance of pear trees. The mujavirs plucked the pears, cut them into pieces and dried them for being offered as tabaruks to murids at the ziarat around the villages.

The people coming through various streams particularly rural and urban came in close contact with one another at these shrines. Very often they picked up the ways and fashions of one another. The women in particular were impressed with anything that they found to be novel. And inspite of their poverty, they sometimes insisted on having one or the other article, be it an item of dress or jewellery. The Kashmiris are imitative and have great love to show themselves off on festive occasions.¹ Sometimes they would exchange ideas with one another and perhaps occasionally few of them struck the marriages of their children on such occasions.

However, the saints during their life times constituted and prepared the khatmat on the basis of inspirations of Quran and Hadith. They used to recite the same by themselves and also asked their devotees and disciples to recite in the same manner. For instance aurad-i-fathiya, khatm-i-Mehboob-ul-aalam of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, aurad-i-qadiriya and kibrayat-i-sharif of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, Khatm-i-Sharif Nur-ud-Din and Baba Zain-ud-Din.² The recitations were mainly aimed at purification of soul, spiritual illumination, eternal peace and salvation from the

1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 103.

2. These khatmats and azkars were recited in the respective shrine on the auspicious occasion of the Urs in commemoration of different saints in our period. The recitation is still performed. Gh. Mohd and Nor Mohd, Khatmat-Murwaja Kashmir, p. 26, 2, 3, 6, 9.

dangerous ^u ~~w~~ ^rth in grave and hell. But after the death of a Wali, his disciples and followers continued the recitations of Quranic verses prescribed by the saint or Wali. This tradition ~~was~~ come down from generation to generation. With the passage of time greed of materialism increased and eagerness for attaining and acquiring knowledge for spiritual upliftment ceased to grow and people from all walks of life particularly the mujavirs and khudams¹ of shrines confined their activities to their selfish interests which were mainly material. Ostensibly, they preached recitation of daruds, azkars, aurads and khatmats would fulfil the wishes of the recitor, but actually they emphasized the individuals material desires. This wrong conception added to these aurads and azkars certain innovations as:

"Give me something for God's sake,² Sultan (Shaikh Hamza) makes me happy and makes me to forget all the worries. He helps in achieving our aims and objects. He solves our problems. He is my priest"^{2a}

All these and many other additions crept into aurads and azkars were totally against the main contents of original aurads and azkars. For instance in aurad-i-fathiya we recited "Oh God none can grant what you deny and none can deny what you grant, Oh God you are eternal without fall and you are all powerful without any minister or advisor"

1. Khadims like mujavirs are attendants at the shrines rendering various servides.

2. This was recited hundred and eleven times during the khatm-i-Sharif ceremony of Hazrat Gous-ul-Azam.

2a. Khatmat-Murwaja Kashmir, p. 9.

Amusements and Recreations:

The fairs and festivals and consecutive visits by pilgrims to the shrines provided the people much needed opportunity for amusement and jubilation. The people of Kashmir were eager to visit the shrines to get relieved from dullness and to refresh themselves. They (shrines) were the pleasant places of meeting at fair times and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings appear to have impressed the people. Noble brotherhood of venerable trees particularly of chinars and other provided a pleasant and beautiful shade.¹ For example the Hazratbal shrine looked overcrowded on Fridays and all other days when festivals were celebrated there. In summer season most of the people used to engage house-boats, shikars and dungās for enjoying themselves on the Dal Lake and in Mughal gardens on the eastern bank of the Dal Lake. The Hazratbal shrine on the western bank of the Dal Lake and in close proximity to Bagh-i-Naseem attracted people in large numbers. The people came to the shrine on foot. A succession of prayers, singing and feasting was to be witnessed everywhere around the shrine. The scenery of the lake was so attractive that when a Kashmiri though poor found himself in possession of some money he lost no time in assembling his partymen and set out for the lake.² From the ground of this shrine people had an open and fine view of the mountains rising on the opposite side. Mughal gardens perched on the mountains opposite the shrine presented a magnificent spectacle. The chinar trees within

1. W. R. Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 288.¹

2. A. R. Matte, Kashmir Under the Mughals, p. 137.¹

the premises of the shrine added to the grandeur and charm of the place. Similarly many other shrines like the one of Baba Payam-ud-Din near Gulmarg attracted many devotees on account of sanctity and scenic beauty. The trees around the shrine were appealing. The days of festival, in particular attracted the people to celebrate the Urs with fervour and zeal. The multitude of people included men, women, children, young and old from different corners of the Valley. They made purchases of various beautiful articles and exhibited these before the people on their return home. The roaring and noisy markets around the shrines represented the commercial spectacle at the festival. The women-folk who generally were confined to the four walls of house were seen to move about in great freedom at the festival site. It was a sight to find them eat sweet and fruits. Amidst this the women kept on sucking their infants¹ people came and returned in swarms. The young girls and boys exhibited the fine dresses, they had put on. Some people listened to the preachings of the pirs particularly at the time when they were highlighting the life history and achievements of the decased saint. There were others who were busy in raising their hands and head high and crying loudly for grant of boons. The khadims looked very ridiculous when they were pouncing clumsily over the offerings² made by the devotees. The scene appeared interesting when one saw such flashes of temper as were evident from the attitude

1. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.

2. Ibid.,

of the khadims. The laughter and the sobbing, expressing two opposite emotions of the people were to be heard on all sides.¹ This excited and astonished the people who were in different pleasure and pain.

The fair and festivals were an institution which were held at every shrine and ziarat. The place was not only a market for purchase and sale of goods but it also became the meeting ground for friends and relatives "Here in one corner one would find a juggler giving his performances in the open, with amazement and amusement of people, in another corner may be seen a snake charmer or a man with trained bear and a monkey giving performances and just passing their plates round or spreading, a piece of cloth into which the people may throw a pice or two. In another place a quack with all his herbs and medicines spread out, may be extolling their efficacy in various diseases-- attracted by the great variety of interesting things in these melas, people can spend all their leisure wandering from booth to booth".² Lawrence has rightly remarked that "the only gatherings are at weddings or at the fairs at the shrines of the saints".³ The wrestlers considered the shrines particularly during the period of Urs very appropriate for wrestling matches. This was seen and observed by the spectators with pleasure.

-
1. The light hearted usually carry laughter wherever they go while the serious minded people particularly in distress keep on sobbing and yelling at the ziarats.
 2. P. C. Lal, The Tradition of Adult Education in India.
 3. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 255.

They used to cheer up in order to encourage the wrestlers and made the audience to rejoice. There were famous wrestlers who displayed and exhibited their skill and dexterity at mass gatherings. Kashmir was indeed celebrated for its wrestlers.¹ Similarly the Bhaggats and Bands (folk dancers, singers and artists) had their long and chequered history in Kashmir. They combined the profession of singing and acting with that of begging. They sometimes performed short comic plays in different villages. The villagers in particular liked their programmes and jocular skits and dramas. They visited the villages during harvest and collected the paddy after displaying their band-pather (folk drama). They added piquancy and gaiety to the otherwise dull life of villages. But the people both urban and rural enjoyed the Bhaggats and Bands during the periods of Urs. They (Bhaggats) displayed their wit in accompaniment with the beating of drums and other musical instruments. It was famous as Jashan-i-Bhaggatan (performance of the folk singers). Their participation in annual fairs held at various shrines attracted large number of people. That is why they were in great demand on various occasions of fairs and festivals.² They sang songs in Kashmiri, Persian and Punjabi but the Kashmiri songs were liked the most, as these met the taste of the natives. Their instruments consisted of a drum in centre and four clarionets. Their plays, playing of instruments and songs enlarged the scope of the gatherings at shrines.

1. Ibid.,

2. The Culture of Kashmir, p. 17.
D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 71.

The recitation of group songs by women at shrines was another recreational exercise. These songs highlighted the noble deeds of the saints. At the ziarat of Hazrat Shaikh Nur-ud-Din at Chrar-i-Sharif the women-folk presented ruf (group songs of women) to the accompaniment of songs in praise of the Shaikh. Thus not only the local women participated the group songs but the ladies from outside also took part in this event. They stood in rows, advancing and retreating, singing the ruf songs.¹ On the last day of Urs, the tomb of the saint was covered with a new Chaddar (cover) made of superior fibre.

The damali or dambael (folk dance) which was presented at many shrines was another source of recreation. There used to be two rows of men moving up and down, singing songs in praise of the saint and in the middle of a dense circle of men two stick holders played with each other with their sticks. The drummers beat the drums to accelerate the state of ecstasy among the stick holders and dancers. The mind was thrown in a whirl and the dancers fell into religious ecstasy.² The practice of dambael was common at the shrines of Baba Nasib-ud-Din Gazi at Bijbehara, Lal Bab Sahib at Zakura near Naseem Bagh and other shrines like Khan Sahibs during their anniversary days. The dancers were called damal-i-maet and damal-i-faqir. The dancing at Baba Nasib's shrine was so much famous

1. On the occasions of Idd, the women sang the songs. The song was pretty and the dance graceful. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 266.

2. Ibid., p. 289.

that most of the people of District Anantnag came all the way to witness the damali (dance) at the shrine of Baba Nasib-ud-Din. The dancers of different areas and villages like Drey-i-gam, Humhom, Butamarg, Kanagund Akingam came to Bijbehara on the auspicious occasion of Urs to present their programme of damali (folk) dance. On their way they performed their dance in various villages. They prepared dramas and showed them out to the people on the way where they had to stay for night. The villages viz., Aglar, Meelahura and Wachi in pargana Shahura of Maraz were eagerly waiting to see their skits. They stayed for a night in each of these villages.¹ Similarly the Lal Babs shrine was flocked by the large numbers to observe and see the damali presented by the professional folk dancers of various villages. Some scholars have wrongly referred to this Urs as Watal mela and the dambael as watal dambael². While interviewing some age old people in the area, it could be gathered that it was not watal-mela and watel damali. But the pure damali was presented by the professional folk dancers at the shrine of Lala Bab Sahib. At village Zakura resided sixteen families during our period of study. The damal-i-maet were presented some khirwars of shali and sixteen cocks by the sixteen families of the village.³

1. The damal-i-maet came once in a year in order to participate in the Urs and to add to the pleasure of the gathering.

2. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 100.

3. This information was gathered in the course of an interview with Haji Muhammad Abdullah Wani alias niama.

Perhaps it was at the shrine of Lal Bab Sahib that the members of the watal community assembled to settle their disputes relating to money and other transections. It was there that they entered into matrimonial alliances as well.¹ One peculiar feature of the residents of Zakura was to organize a reverine procession at the time of sowing the paddy seeds. On that occasion they engaged a small flotilla of boats and went in the boats right accross the Dal lake to the shrine of Baba Najm-ud-Din at Gupkar².

Almost all the people enjoyed at shrines particularly during periods of Urs. The shodas (the addicts of charas) not only rejoiced themselves at shrines but became a source of jubilation for the visitors and devotees. For instance the meeting place of shodas at Batmalloo presented a very colourful and fascinating scene during the festival of Batmalloo. On the eve of festivals, they held a feast and organized musical concerts with voluntary contributions.³

-
1. It seems that the watals of pargana Phak and of Srinagar held the saint Lal Bab Sahib in highest reverence. The shrine of Lal Bab Sahib is at Zakura then a village in pargana Phak. This fact has been stated by Lawrence in the following words, "the watals from all parts of the Valley and the city assemble at Lal Bab's shrine near the Naseem Bagh and many other matters affecting the tribe are then settled and marriage alliances are made." W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 315.
 2. Lal Bab Sahib was a great farmer. He as routine used to go to Baba Najm-ud-Din (uncle and preceptor of Lal Bab Sahib) every year before sowing seeds. Having complete faith in his pir, he never started his work of farming without his consent. The seeking of permission became a tradition among the people at Zakura.
 3. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 102.

• At the tombs of the mystic poets like Socha Kral at Inder (Pulwama) and Wahab Khar at Shar Pampore and many singing parties used to sing their songs in a very disciplined manner at the Urs celebration occasions. Kashmiris were mostly interested in the poetry of these mystic poets. Even at present, the people arrange musical parties at their private houses where the poetry of these mystics is recited to the accompaniment of various musical instruments. The shrine of Kamar Sahib at Ganderbal was visited by the people mostly on the occasions of festival. The singers and dancers flocked in large number to the shrine. The people hired the dungas and Shikaras for weeks together for enjoyment.

The people lighted a bundle of leush¹ (piece of timber with rich content of resin or turpentine) at night on the occasion of Urs at Aishmuqam as a mark of jubilation commemorating the killing of a dev (demon) by Baba Zain-ud-Din of Aishmuqam. In course of time the custom spread to people among other areas of Maraz (South Kashmir). In the villages where leush was not available people lighted sheaves of hay.

The fairs and festivals held at various shrines spread over length and breadth of the Valley provided the occasions for fun and frolick. An average Kashmiri generally poor as he was, had little leisure and means to afford recreation and amusement. But the eve of Urs, which he eagerly looked forward to, gave him the opportunity to enjoy himself to the utter forgetfulness of his misery and poverty. He would save a little money with great hardship and take along his wife and children to the fair and festival. These poor dependants of the poorman on such an occasion found an escape from the clutch of poverty and want, though it was only momentary--just for a day or two in their long dreary and dull life.

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III. p. 125

Communal Harmony:

The shrines were looked upon as places of worship and the various fairs marked the celebration of a special event connected with the life or death of a saint. Apart from providing spiritual and moral satisfaction to the people, the shrines and fairs became a source of recreation and amusement to them. But over and above, these, the ziarats and various ceremonies promoted communal harmony among two major communities, viz., the Hindus and the Muslims. The savants, Rishis and saints both native and non-native in their life times preached brotherhood, tolerance, amity, peace and harmony. Their teachings made a direct and indelible imprint on the minds of the common masses of Kashmir. These efforts of the Rishis and saints led in course of time, to the establishment of stronger ties of brotherhood among the people of the land. We have noticed that the Hindu festivals were joined by the Muslims as well, though not with a religious motive but for recreational sake during medieval period in Kashmir.¹ Not only this we find also the Muslims putting forward their helping hand to Hindu brethren in solving their problems at their festivals by providing food and other requirements.² This not only shows the spirit of amity and harmony ~~but~~ among the Hindus and the Muslims but also points to the religious freedom in the society. Even Sultan Qutb-ud-Din and his Muslim subjects visited the temple in Ala-ud-Dinpora every morning.

1. Srivara, Rajatarangini, pp. 123-25.

2. Ibid., pp. 123--24.

Sultan once performed the yaonya and distributed lavish gifts to the Brahmins¹ in order to avert famine. In Kashmir one may not be astonishing to witness the Hindus and the Muslims "equally holding a reverence the Hindu shrines and the Muslim khanqahs situated in close proximity or sometimes within the same premises. The notable examples are the Muslim shrine of Shah Hamadan co-existing with the Hindu shrine of Kali Devi at Fateh Kadal and Makhdoom Sahib's shrine near the Hindu temple of Sarika Devi at Hari Parbat. An ancient legend related by Kalhana shows the spring at Sudrabal near Hazratbal as being the abode of an avatara of the Sodara Naga worshippers originally the place has near the sacred site of Bhutesvara below Mound Harmukhta.² Thus the inheritance of respect for each others religious places and shrines never gave rise to communal tensions in the Valley. Rather these there were the living symbols of communal harmony and amity.³ The understanding that was developed by two major communities in the background of shrines testifies to the fact that the people remained calm and peaceful for centuries inspite of several provocations to break the bonds of mutual friendship. The presence of shrines was

1. Mohibbul Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, p. 56.

2. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 175.

3. This is what led Mahatma Gandhi to pronounce that he had found a 'ray of light' only in Kashmir when the entire sub-continent was in the grip of darkness of communal passion and hatred. Ibid., p. 185.

considered a virtue which members of both the communities revered and respected. The people without any religious distinction offered donations for the construction of such shrines-- as symbols of love and affection. "Seldom in the history of mankind", so writes Sir J. Marshall, "has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Hindus and Muslims, meeting and mingling together¹." The religious personality that Kashmir developed since times immemorial in a unique style led Augustine to put it in the heavenly city, "while it so journeys on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims in all languages, not scrupling about diversities, in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained²"-- that these diversities of Pandits, Muslims, Sikhs and others in Kashmir are preserved as long as Kashmiris are united in the service of God, on these shrines, Tirthas, mosques, dargahs and asthans amidst the environment governed by an absolute spirit.³

The shrines as centres of fraternity were thronged by people of all the communities. It must be pointed out here that Hazratbal shrine attracted not only Muslims but other two major communities, viz., Hindus and Sikhs both for recreation and grant

1. The Culture of Kashmir, p. 27.

2. The Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 169.

3. Ibid.,

of boons. All the people looked at it with awe and veneration.¹ Most of the Kashmiris whether Hindu or Muslim bowed before the gates of dargah while passing through it. Even well qualified people of all the communities never fight shy in showing reverence to the shrine and they acknowledge its power. There were people from other communities who reached the religious places of the Muslims in the early morning even before the arrival of their Muslim brothers².

It was in December 1963, that moe-i-muqaddas (holy hair of the Prophet p.b.u.h.) was found missing from the shrine of Hazratbal. The Kashmiris without any religious distinction shared the grief and sorrow in equal measure and unanimously demanded restoration of the holy relic (hair).³

The Hindus not only participated in the festivals of Khanqah-i-Mualla and Makhdoom Sahib⁴ but also presented themselves at the shrines on other occasions. During the Sikh regime, when Sikhs planned to destroy the Muslim places of worship particularly

1. W. Wakefield, History of Kashmir and Kashmiris, p. 157.
2. In an interview with Prem Nath of village Wachi (pargana Shahura) who might be of eighty years of age, he asserted he had tremendous faith in shrines particularly in the Khanqah-i-Shah Hamdan popularly known as Khanqah-i-Wala at Wachi. Without any training worth the name he established a medical shop and practised as a successful medico in the area. He further stated that he owed his success not to his own ability but he owed it to the benedictions of the said Khanqah.
3. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, pp. 307--308.
4. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 117.

Khanqah-i-Mualla, they were stopped from doing so by the influential Hindus particularly Birbal Dhar¹ (the influential noble of the time).

There were many shrines where not only Muslims contributed but Hindus too very gladly raised funds for the construction of the Muslim shrines. They also paid the mutwalis (custodians) of the shrine annually or bi-annually. The mujavirs of Baba Zain-ud-Din's shrine at Aishmuqam were paid money by the Hindus. For example the Pandits living in the nearby village of Aishmuqam offered twelve kharwars of shali (paddy) to the traditional Rishis of the shrine.² Similarly the closeby Pandit residents of Lal Bab Sahib's shrine paid equal respect to the shrine as their Muslim broth^{er} did. They used to send money, oil and bread to the shrine on festive occasions.³ The ziarat of Mian Shah Sahib at Rainawari was equally venerated by both the communities. Both the communities looked forward impatiently to the celebration of the festival.⁴

1. A deputation of Muslims headed by Saiyid Hasan Shah Qadiri Khanyari approached Birbal Dhar to dissuade the Sikhs from the destruction of the Khanqah, he moved in the matter, used his influence and saved this historic Khanqah from vandalism. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. II, p. 521., G. M. D. Sufi, Kashir, p. 726., P. N. K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 562.
2. This information was given by Mumma Haji (resident of Aishmuqam), the recipient of the above noted payments. The Haji said that he was eighty year old. He was himself one among the mujavirs.
3. This was told by Haji Muhammad Abdullah Wani alias Niama, a local age old follower of Lal Bab Sahib.
4. Many Muslim fairs held at different shrines like Chrar-i-Sharif and Aishmuqam were held on Hindu calender.

They gave themselves upto jollity and played with fire works.

A significant¹ feature of this shrine was that people both Hindus and Muslims threw feasts on the seventh day of the dark fortnight in the month of Poh.¹ Both the communities paid money at the shrine to the mujavirs and for the construction of the shrine. What is of great importance is that the iron safe lodged at the entrance of the shrine bear the names of Allah on one side and ~~Om~~ Om in Hindi script on other side. All this speaks of the amity among different communities. Similarly shrine of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din was put in great esteem by all the communities. It was in 1344 A.H. that Abdul Ahad Azad while expressing his views on Shaikh-ul-Alam and his mission observed that the Alamdar exerted his energy in cementing the bonds between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Obviously, both the Muslims and the Hindus had great faith in saints like the Shaikh of Chrar-i-Sharif.² The verses of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din amongst other things taught and preached tolerance which to a great extent motivated and influenced almost all the communities in Kashmir. Nur-ud-Din like Lala Arifa also preached tolerance and respect for each others faith. As a matter of faith, Islam in

1. The tradition is quite contrary to the Rishi cult of Kashmir. Rishis of Kashmir abstain from meat eating. The people in the locality prepare fish particularly on this day. Srinagar Times, 26th January, 1989.
2. Abdul Ahad Dar alias Azad resident of Ranger (Chaudura) has written a Qasida (1344 A.H.-1348 A.H.) This ~~portion~~ portion is preserved in the unpublished form in the personal Library of Mir Ghulam Nabi of Chrar-i-Sharif.

Kashmir began to assume a new form under the influence of Rishis who emphasized the right path by practising the virtues like tolerance and social service¹. The Rishis did not emphasize doctrinal side of Islam. Thus the reverence for Shaikh's shrine was deep-rooted among all the people. His message was not confined to a particular race or any class, but addressed to mankind as a whole². All the communities attended the festival of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din with devotion and dedication. So was the case with the shrine of Pir-i-Dastgir at Khanwar. Whenever they are in distress, the Hindus like the Muslims chant ya pir dastgir with great fervour. The word dastgir is at the tip of every Kashmiri's tongue without any religious distinction. It has become an important part of our culture to recite it. The communities even take the pledges of dastgir. Besides the eleventh Rabi-us-thani, the date of the demise of the Pir was and is still famous among both the communities and they celebrate it with great enthusiasm.

There were many other shrines which Kashmiri Pandits and Muslims respected alike. Pir Pandit Padshah also known as Rishi Pir of Aali Kadal was revered equally by both the communities.³

1. They lived among the common people, shared their troubles and pains. P. N. K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 488.

2. A. Q. Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 158.

3. On next page

Still earlier, both the Hindus and the Muslims claimed Lal Ded as their own and gave her equal respect. Similarly, Wali Shah of village Devsar was respected by all. Even Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a great devotee of him.¹

Hindus believe that the sacred cave of Amarnath was discovered by a Muslim shepherd and even upto this date the successors of the shepherd got a sizeable portion of the income,² received by way of offerings of Hindu yatris at the shrine. The Muslims assisted and still assist the Hindu pilgrims to the cave in many ways in reaching the cave through tough passes.

Right from ancient times, the history makes it clear that Kashmir was always blessed with communal harmony and religious toleration. The conversions that took place on several

3. Haji Mohi-ud-Din Miskin, op. cit., p. 328. On 5th day of full moon in Baisakhi, a fair was held in honour of the Rishi Pir at Aali Kadal. The Hindus presented 4½ annas to the saints representatives and received in turn fried rice which was taken home and distributed among relatives. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 365.

1. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III, p. 478.

2. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 298.

occasions from Buddhism to Brahmanism and from Brahmanism to Islam did not change the religious personality of Kashmir. It was because of this fact that the people unhesitatingly accepted new faith. That is why Stein remarked "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest but by persuasion and gradual conversion".¹

After the demise of saint, his shrine or ziarat worked as beacon for the people and inspired them the path of communal amity. The Urs celebrations brought the two communities together at the shrines assumed great importance as grounds for the growth of communal harmony. Lawrence rightly remarked, "the strong rule under which the people have lived for generations would not brook any quarrelling between Hindus and Musalmans".²

The spirit of mutual friendship which was inculcated and nurtured by the celebrated saints and Sufis of Kashmir has stood the test of times and has guided the people along the right path through their lives. The lessons of their saints have stood by them in the hour of their gloom and dismay and emboldened them to over-come an ugly situation.

1. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 169.

2. W. R. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 286.

SUPERSTITIONS:

...

The shrines and Khanqahs, which initially aimed at spiritual and religious advancement, deviated from this objective and became centres of superstitious practices and beliefs. It was popularly believed that the prayers at shrines were sure means and efficacious instruments for averting ailments and misfortunes. So the visits to the graves of saints and religious men were considered acts of great merit and as such all sorts of people, traders, townfolk, city people and villagers visited the shrines. However, in course of time several superstitions came to be associated with shrines. The people tied their fear and hope with the shrines, a practice quite contrary to the teachings of Islam. Quran says:-

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ ضُرِبَ مَثَلٌ فَاستَمِعُوا لَهُ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ تَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ لَنْ يَخْلُقُوا ذِبابًا وَلَوْ اجتمعوا لَهُ وَإِنْ يَسْلُبْهُمُ الذِّبَابُ شَيْعًا لَا يَسْتَنْقِذُوهُ مِنْهُ ضَعُفَ الطَّالِبُ وَالْمَطْلُوبُ هـ

"Oh people, listen carefully, an example is cited for you, the gods whom you call for help, they all by joining together cannot make even a fly and if a fly will confiscate anything from them, they cannot get that back. The seekers of help those that are supposed to render it are weak.¹"

1. Al-Quran, Sura Al-Haj, Ayat, 73.

This and many other ayats and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) make it clear that God is omnipotent. Even a small wing of an insect cannot be cut off without the will of God. The Muslims of Kashmir like their Hindu¹ neighbours had full faith in superstitions. The mass conversion to Islam during the 14th century A.D. could not completely wipe-out the age-old superstitions of the neo-converts. There is ample evidence to show that both the communities observed certain rituals which were alike. The occurrence of cholera and other epidemics in the Valley was attributed to qins (evil spirit) and go desses. Like the Hindus the Muslims too believed that the curse was due to the dishonour to some or the other saint. They believed that the displeasure of the saints was sometimes responsible for the outbreak of one or the other natural calamity. It is said that the areas of Tujr and Zainagir became dry due to displeasure of Makhdoom Sahib.² There was general belief among the people of Zainagir that a spring of water known as Makhdoom nag was caused to flow from hard dry rock by the great saint Makhdoom Sahib.³ Thus whenever a dreadful disease like cholera or small-pox occurred the Muslims would consult the

-
1. The contemporary sources make it clear that Hindus were banfully superstitious. It was believed that touching leather, swimming and crossing the sea, touching non-Brahmans and similar other would render them outcastes. See Biscoe's Autobiography, p. 10.
 2. It is said that the people of Village Tujr (birth place of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom) did not show respect to the saint. His companions laughed at his preaching and prophecy. In lieu, Shaikh is said to have expressed the curse that faced with scarcity of water. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.
 3. Ibid.,

Pir particularly the mujavir of the shrine which provided "a unique occasion for trading upon the superstitions of the people".¹ The Kashmiris both in normal and difficult times visited the shrines. They always considered the shrines as the centres of their redemption. At the shrine the married couple requested for a beautiful and charming son. So was the case with ailing people who supplicated for speedy recovery.² Such irrational beliefs of people led Lawrence to remark that the shrines were centres of superstitious practices.³ This situation was intensified by selfish and crafty mujavirs. They impressed upon the minds of the credulous masses, that they (mujavirs) were really the mediators and intercessors between the deceased saints and the zairreen (pilgrims). This strategy earned the mujavirs a great fame among the people particularly their murids. The credulous villagers came to be exploited by the pirs. Though the mujavirs also known as Rishis, Babas, Pirzadas were illiterate. Their influence was far greater than that exercised by the local pirs also known as Mullahs⁴ of the mosque.

1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 293.

2. Dr. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, Asrar-i-Kashmir, p. 98.

3. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 293.

4. The Mullahs led five time prayers at the mosque and performed the mansab of Immamat. However, it is essential to mention here that this mansab (duty) was also performed by Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) This is the highest position among the Muslims. An Immam should be a man of high character and knowledge. However, mostly the Immams during our period were believed to be merely recitors of a few things rather than being knowledgable. They were sometimes termed as Amsipari-Pirs, committing to memory the Suras of Amsipar (30th para of Quran). They taught the children to recite Quran and lived upon their offerings. Lawrence, op.cit., p. 308.

The respect that the mujavirs commanded was due to their close association with shrines and shrines played a vital role in perpetuating the institution of Pir-muridi¹ in Kashmir. The mujavirs really played a negative role and deceived the devotees. They made the people believe that atleast seven rounds and at the most eleven rounds (tawaf) around the shrine would fulfil their needs and meet their requirements.²

The superstitions were deep-rooted in the Muslim mind during our period of study. Some people allowed the superstitions to grow out of their own imagination. The conservative beliefs made the people slaves of idle fancies and their minds were not at all rational and objective. Their power of reasoning was extremely poor as such they were incapable of understanding any scientific explanation which aimed at rejecting superstition and blind belief. As a matter of fact superstitions among the people delved deep and pushed the people backward in many respects. Their superstitious nature led them to respect and abide by what the illiterate and selfish mujavirs desired them to do.

1. In Kashmir Guru-Shishya Parampara (the preceptor disciple tradition) is still prevalent and both the communities (Hindus and Muslims) in Kashmir have strong sentiments for their respective gurus and pirs. Gurus are considered the guardians of the spiritual tradition in Kashmir and so is the case with the Pirs and they share much in common between themselves.
2. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, op. cit., p. 98.

These and other practices of the mujavirs at the shrines on different occasions became an integral part of the socio-cultural behaviour of the people in Kashmir. The mujavirs exploited the ignorant and superstitious masses and often extracted money from them for repair of the shrines during adversity and natural calamities.¹ The mujavirs made the people believe that their own sins and misdeeds and consequent wrath of God were responsible for natural calamities like draughts and famines. They performed various rites in order to avert the disastrous consequences of the natural calamity (afat-i-naghani).

However, it should be mentioned here that natural calamities like cholera, earthquake, fire, famine and flood occurred frequently in Kashmir. These dreadful happenings caused great loss of life and property of the people during our period of study. Cholera of 1892 and 1900 swept across the whole Valley including the city of Srinagar. The mild earthquakes were annually felt in Kashmir. The terrible earthquake that occurred on 30th May, 1885, destroyed 20,000 houses, 30,000 cattle and 3,000 human beings.² The famine of 1877--79 caused enormous loss of life-- stated to have been more than 2/5th of the population. So was the case with the frequent occurrence of fires and floods. The people instead of seeking the solutions approached the shrines for riddance from natural

1. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 288.

2. Duke, Kashmir Handbook, p. 123.

calamities. They, amidst, the grip of misery and misfortune, started repairing the ziarats. The practice of visiting the religious place on such occasions made them more superstitious which ultimately led Lawrence to state that "religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings and they turn from the mean priest and the mean mosque to the pretty shrines of carved wood"¹. The people formed and took out processions while a natural calamity raged. The procession entered the premises of the shrine with a sense of remorse and held mass prayers (naufal) there, and in several khanqahs. This practice was common. The people of pargana Dachinpora and Khowerpora took out processions which ended up at the shrine of Baba Zain-ud-Din with a solicitation to the dead saint to relieve them of the natural calamity. Similarly the people from all parts of the Valley during the occurrence of drought, cholera, earthquake and epidemics like small pox, gathered in large numbers at Chrar-i-Sharif and sat silent in a mood of mortification on the hills around, confessed their sins and begged for pardon. This impressive ceremony was called naufal.²

Whenever there was a failure of rains, the people visited Makhdoom Sahib's shrine in thousands from all parts of the Valley in general and Zainagir, and Tujr area in particular. The main feature of the custom was for the people to carry pitchers and

1. Ibid.,

2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 288.

pails filled with water which they poured into the pond of Makhdoom Sahib. This performance was sometimes carried out in a ceremonious form when a group of accompanying (Bands) folk dancers danced and sang all the way. The ceremony was observed by the credulous people full of expectations. During the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh whenever any aafat-i-naghani (natural calamity) occurred, the people of Srinagar, in a procession, carried the holy relic (alam-i-sharif) tent pole of Khanqah-i-Mualla to Char-i-Sharif where special prayers were offered in a congregation in order to avert the calamity.¹ The great place for the confession of sins was Idgah. The place was thronged by a large number of people. It has been also recorded that the people of Kashmir offered Salat-i-Istisqa² at Idgah on the 9th of Cheth, 1937 Bikrami (9th Rab-us-Sani, 1297) during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh to save the Valley from drought. They offered their obeisance to the deceased saints and paid nazarana to the living pirs.³ It was also in 1934 Bikrami that people being worried due to constant rains, they went to Idgah for offering two ragats of

1. Local informant Mohammad Amin Farooqi, who acted as Naib-i-Imman of Hazratbal shrine during the closing years of the Dogra period.

2. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, *op.cit*, f. 61b

3. Gh. Nabi Khanyari, Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh, f. 66b.

nauf¹. It is believed that rains stopped soon after the nauf¹ had been offered. The same type of obeisance was made in 1949 Bikrami (1893 A.D.) during the Dogra period when Habba Kadal area caught an extensive fire. Among the other natural calamities that befell the people of Kashmir from time to time were epidemics like cholera. When people offered nauf at Idgah², and visited the shrines to ward off this natural calamity.

The reverence for primitive and age-old traditions rallied the people round a specific-group of privileged men who tried to keep them at the lowest ebb and deprived them of the real spirit of knowledge. The fatalist and superstitious people of Kashmir seldom endeavoured to emerge *out* of the quagmire of ignorance and intellectual morass. The greater the degree of superstition the greater were the chances of their exploitation. This was more true of Muslim masses who were cheated and defrauded by a small number of Babzadas and Pirzadas³. This exploitation of the common Muslims by their priests led to two important consequences.

1. Ibid., f. 64a.

2. Ibid., f. 72b.

3. During the period under survey the shrines became jagirs of Pirzadas, Babzadas and Rishis. They were men of no knowledge who would direct the people towards the right. Even though they enjoyed a privileged status among the people. They used the shrines as business centres showing total disregard of the faith and their duties as true Muslims. Shrines provided nourishment to these parasites who worked to the detriment of Islam. The babzadas and pirzadas got entrenched in the shrines and they came to acquire a vested interest in a calling that was supposed to be honest.

Priests did not bother to educate the Muslim masses. They considered it below their dignity to serve the poor masses in the just cause of making them literate. Moreover, they always held the masses in derision and desired not to relax their traditional hold over them.¹ The common Muslims remained ignorant which they ought not to have been as the teaching of Islam were, as they still are and will remain very simple and even an illiterate person could follow, the fundamentals of this religion with a little effort and by and by he could know much about it.

From the above discussion it is clear that the preachers of Islam took shelter, to secure their own interests, in shrines instead of preaching Islam in the open so that the common and innocent people might benefit. Evidently the shrines, became such institutions as made the common Muslims ~~ing~~ ignorant of their religious duties. They fell victims to superstitions and un-Islamic practices. They neglected the basic principles of Islam and converted its simplicity and faith in one God into extravagancy and belief in many saints and pirs.

1. It is obligatory for every Muslim to impart to the people all that he himself knows pertaining to Islam. But the pirs and mujavirs were not prepared to share, with common people what little knowledge they possessed. They even opposed the people who looked favourably towards the Christian missionary who wanted to educate people and uproot the superstitious practices. They termed the learners of English language as Kafirs and infidels.

This alienated the common Muslims from what is recited in every Nimaz¹. In fact, the permanent attendants of the shrine (pirs and majavirs) tactfully organized themselves into a body of exporters in the Valley. Dr. Aziz Ahmed Qureshi rightly remarked that this traditional profession of mujavirs was and still it continues to be in vogue at common ziarats and shrines of Kashmir. He referred to the following shrines: Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, Hazrat Batamaloo, Amir-i-Kabir, Hazrat Dastgir, Shaikh-Nur-ud-Din, Baba Zain-ud-Din, Haider Rishi, Baba Payam-ud-Din Rishi² to be as the main centres where the mujavirs lull the credulous devotees to hopeless consequences of exploitation. They posed as sufis and introduced among the common Muslims the practice of singing and playing musical instruments and gave them many other such prescriptions rather than urging them to offer daily prayers and observing fasts. These selfish people did not hesitate sometimes, to wrongly quote a Sufi saint and attribute to him such words and acts as are not expected of Muslim Sufis. They highlighted the

1. Al-Quran, Surah Fateh,

Oh God we pray You and seek help from you only.

2. Dr. Aziz Ahmad, Qureshi, op. cit., p. 99.

karamats (miracles) of the saints¹, that gave impression to the common Muslims that their difficulties could be solved by these saints even when they were not alive. Thus the shrines gave a set-back to the achievements of Sufis and Sadats who had put in their all out efforts in the spread of Islam in the Valley in the real sense of the term. It can be safely said that the superstitions bred more and more means of exploitation of the general masses by a small number of people. The lack of scientific education, ignorance among common masses, selfish interest of the section that exploited religion by breeding superstition, were the factors which made the contemporary atmosphere glum by adding to the stock of superstitious beliefs and practices.

The superstitious nature of the people became manifest at the ziarat of Shah Hamadan in village Mitrogam (Pulwama). It was obligatory for every family to present five seers (kilograms) of rice and a cock to the shrine which was used for Bandar (community feast) at the shrine. The people had termed it as Jabri Bandar (forced feast) and they were not happy in celebrating

1. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 147.

However, the saints never preached any such thing which was against Islam. Their teaching were quite contradictory to that which was preached by the Pirs and mujavirs. These people have been greatly criticised by many saints like Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Rishi. There are many references to show that many people left this job voluntarily.

it. They hesitated to pay further expenses (nazru-niyaz) for Bandar.¹ All this shows the tradition oriented nature of the people. Even Moorcraft while visiting the Valley wrote of the Kashmiris as being superstitious and ignorant.²

The whole Valley was rich in superstitions and there was not a mountain, river or spring which had not some quaint legend attached to it. Kaumude writes, "The Kashmir hills and mountains, lakes and rivers, according to legends and Mahatmyas, are the sacred abodes of nagas heavenly figures, thereby serving as media for the fulfilment of the pious mission, i.e. the washing away of the sins of the faithful".³ For example in pargana Devsar there was a spring called Pahlu. Whoever was willing to know the prospects of his future, filled an earthen vessel with boiled rice and closed its mouth having written his name on its top and threw it into the spring. After a period of years time on the same day the vessel floated on the surface, if the rice was found fragrant and warm, the year was considered prosperous, but if it was filled with clay or mud it was considered as a sign of bad omen.⁴

-
1. Shiraza Mehjoor Number, J&K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, August, 1904, p. 78.
 2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 273.
 3. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 165.
 4. Gh. Nabi Khanyari, Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh, ff. 10b, 11a.

The people considered saints particularly deceased ones more powerful in granting the boons. That is why they entered the shrine (where the saint was buried or where a relic of his was enshrined) barefooted. They smear their bodies, throats and chest with the clay, raised their heads and hands towards the shrine, went round the shrine, wept and bowed their heads in homage to the saint¹. "The people of Kashmir believe that the visit to the shrine would secure the object of their wishes, women could be vouchsafed, children, and the litigant would win the case"². The people believed that the ointment made from the fullers earth found at the shrine of saint Nur-ud-Din at Rishipura in Kothar Valley could cure the sick.³ The Muslims approached the shrine with great reverence.

The pirs and mujavirs attached to the shrines brought the people to believe that the disease and other atrocities were not caused by germs but these occurred owing to the displeasure of saints. That is why Kashmiris regarded cholera to be the result of disrespect to the shrine. The pirs left no stone unturned to make the people superstitious for their vested interests. They gave birth to some new innovations and new superstitions. As already

1. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 286.
2. Ibid., pp. 289--90.
3. Ibid., p. 293.

referred to , i.e. small-pox was said to be caused by goddess sheetla.¹ Occasionally the pirs attributed its out-break to some evil spirit (gin). As and when the afflicted came to the shrine for relief the pir at once assumed the functions of a physician,² judge, and what not because of his connections with the shrine or the khangah. When the requirements of the devotees were met such as when a child took birth, it became obligatory for the family of the new-born to take the child to the shrine alongwith some nazrana (offering) and party remained grateful to the mujavirs of the shrine for all time to come. The Kashmiris took their children to the shrine where the boon had been sought and granted and there they cut off the child's first locks of hair. The people believed that if this ceremony was performed elsewhere the child would die or would become blind. The shrines commonly known for this purpose were the ziarat of Nur-ud-Din at Chrar, and ziarat of Baba Payam-ud-Din at Ranbua (Gulmarg). The child was given a name particularly on the occasion of agiga (the ceremony of first hair cutting).

It must be explained that the child was not named by his mother or father. They were made to believe that if they themselves gave the name to the baby it would make the life of

1. Sheetal devi is the deity who brings small-pox to the people according to the Hindu tantrik system. Sheetal devi is notorious and known as shootulbud by the Muslims and Moti by Pandits of Kashmir and no meat is prepared in the house when a child suffers from small-pox to please the deity.
2. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 296.

the child very hard in future.¹ That is why the child was given name by the pir. It is also worthy to note that while giving the baby a name the pirs had full consideration² of the name of the month in which the boy was born. The pir produced certain names which though opprently peculiar indicated local influence of the personality cult and implied also the respect for the saint. Thus a boy born in the month of Ramzan, Shaban, or Rajab would in all likelihood be named Ramza, Shaban or Rajab respectively. A boy born in the month in which the great saint died was often named after the saint. Thus Sultan was probably the name given to the boy who was born in the month in which the great saint Mehboob-ul-Alam had died.

The pirs of Kashmir always kept the people in the dark. They made the people believe that they could not do anything against the will of the pir nor do anything that might violate the sanctity of the shrine. They made a great display of their veneration when they approached the shrine. Lawrence related an eye witness story which reads as:-

1. While constructing the house or doing marriage it was conditional for the people to consult the pirs. They sometimes changed the programme of their murids altering the length, bredth and location of the house. So was case with marriage. They before going for marriage went to seek permission of the pir and see sitarbagnai.
2. The pirs considered many things while christening the babies of others and not their own. This accounts for the vast difference in the nomenclature of the laity (common) and that of the pirs.

"No man will dare to pass a shrine on horse-back, and I once saw a striking example of the danger of neglecting this rule. A marriage party was crossing a stream above which stood the shrine of a saint. All of them dismounted and passed over the bridge, but the father of the bridegroom, with the bridegroom in his arms rode boldly over. The bridge were precipitated into the stream, where they lay struggling. I ran up and rebuked the crowd for not assisting the sufferers, but they looked on gloomily and said the man richly deserved his fate".¹

Such feelings generated superstitious beliefs which took a deep root in the minds of the gullible Kashmiris. The Kashmiri Muslims followed many customs and superstitions even while they are out of station. On the anniversary of a saint's death men will abstain from food, and Kashmiris far may in India observe these fasts.²

The parties who entered business partnership took oaths at shrines in order to run their enterprize honestly. If any person lost anything, he took the suspect person to the shrine, where he was made to take an oath in the name of the saint with his face towards the shrine. It was so because the people believed in the sanctity of oaths taken at such places.³ The people were

1. Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 286--287.

2. Ibid.,

3. Ibid., p. 294. There were and still are some established shrines meant for the purpose. The shrine like Pakherpora, Adahoma and many others were considered effective and meaningful for oath taking.

absolute fatalists. They considered that their misery stemmed from their ill fate (taqdir).¹ Therefore, to ward off ill fate they resorted to shrines. Though nobody knew anything about his future nonetheless his own superstitious nature made him narrow minded and timid.

The people of Kashmir tied chords at shrines in order to achieve their material ends. The tying of chords was so common among the people that mystic poetry could not even leave it untouched. There were many trees particularly in the neighbourhood of shrines where strings were ^lcorded. These trees were considered sacred and were used by the people as a source help.² Even the intellectuals did not hesitate in bowing before shrine. They joined their palms in a standing posture and sought many favours in confidence. The students, the un-employed and many others tied chords for the fulfillment of their respective aims. After the aim was fulfilled the chords were untied.³ They arranged feasts and distributed tahar⁴ (cooked rice) as a token of happiness and joy. The tahar was sometimes taken to the shrine and was distributed among the pilgrims.

1. G. M. D. Sufi, op. cit., p. 244.

2. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, op. cit., p. 95.

3. The ritual is known as dash-i-gandin and dash-i-mutchravin in Kashmiri.

4. It consisted of three items namely turmeric, oil and rice. It was distributed equally among the people present on the occasion. The children were mostly fond of such things. Sometimes the dogs availed themselves of the function. It is interesting to note that the dreadful and dangerous dreams were sometimes followed by the distribution of Tahar.

The constant and regular practices performed at shrines enlarged the scope of superstitions. The shrines were raised to the height of supernatural power centres. This was all contrary to the principles and teachings of the saints. The belief in superstitions gave rise to the warning, which says:-

آستانہ آستانہ مکر - آستانہ بی کوئی کر نہ

"Do'nt recite and relate the shrine;
Do what the saint did"

Among the Muslims the services of a priest or mujavir were required and sought all the time. The conception of family pirs and Rishis grew to such an extent that the people jumbled and hovered around the house of their pir and Rishi to seek redress of their troubles. The pir would give them an amulet (tawiz)¹, which the murids put around their necks or somewhere else as per the directions of the preceptor. The pirs in rural areas also gave fatlas which were to be put in a fire-pot and the recipient had to put his face close to the smoke though it was a health hazard.

We can say that the people wanted peace and blessing through an easy method, and they found it in visiting the shrines. They believed that by approaching the shrine or the saint they would gain the merit of their dedication to the deceased saint. They heard the pirs with great reverence whether it was beneficial

1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 104.

or otherwise. To speak before the pir was to commit highest sin, unless directed by him the aspirant was not allowed to speak, to eat anything without bowing to the tomb at the shrine. Each pir had his own way of dealing and communicating with the people. The responsibility rested with the pir as long as that relation continued between the two. Like the bee greedy for honey, which moves from flower to flower, the disciple too in a bid to get comfort moved from shrine to shrine and implored the pir.

To conclude, it could be said that the pirs and mujavirs have striven hard to make the people superstitious for their own ends. And the result is that superstitions and ignorance are now ingrained in the very nature of the Kashmiris. No seed can sprout ^{out} with ~~there~~ being a fertile soil to nurture the seed. Likewise superstitions could not have flourished in Kashmir if the common people of Kashmir had not been gullible and their minds credulous. Hence the cunning self interest of the mujavirs and the ignorance and blind credulity of the people together conspired to breed and promote superstition among the people of Kashmir.

CHAPTER -- 3RD

I. Vested Interest Class

The establishment of Shrines and the development of people's unbounded faith in them gave birth to many ceremonies and festivals, which eventually marked the emergence of a vested-interest class. This class had always an axe of theirs to grind. The class comprised the attendants and servants at the shrine. Really speaking these people rendered very little purposeful^{Service}, least of all religious or spiritual service. The role of these attendants at the shrines was simply disgusting and frustrating. Without them perhaps the shrines would have been better places to go to. The mujavirs and mutwalis as they were called constituted a class of veritable drones, for they never did anything worth the name and the station they held. They were required and expected to preach Islam in its genuine form, and it was the last thing they attempted to do. In pursuance of their self-interest they misled the people.¹ Their methods were fraudulent and through these they extracted money from the indigent and ignorant people. They were supposed to possess great spiritual power and knowledge which potential they were expected to use in the service of common people, whose only fault was their blind

1. Dr. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, op.cit., p.98.

belief in shrines, saints and the mujavirs. After the passing away of saints, their disciples too could follow their pattern and guide the people along the right path. By and by with the passing of time materialism overcame the religious belief and the disciples of the saints who were always present at the shrine as mujavirs prompted more by material self-interest than the desire of common welfare resorted to unfair means to make money. Their cunning and vile could visibly have evoked strong reaction among the people. The false priests and so-called successors of the deceased saints could have in course of time, become exposed to public view, and this could have resulted in the growth of a strong sense of distrust of the pirs among the people and, to some extent, generated hatred towards the pirs. But such a situation had not emerged yet and was not going to emerge for sometime to come. But, if the sainthood was on decline, the pilgrims to the shrines too were not as devoted as their predecessors. Thus Hamidi Kashmiri has rightly remarked ^{that} the days of dedicated people have passed away what has remained behind are the mujavirs.² What was to be found at the shrines were the priests of business mentality. It were these people who assumed full control of the shrines as though these were their own property, where they could do whatever they wished to. They showed scant regard for the teachings of Islam and the preaching of the elevated saints of bygone days. The mujavirs and pirs

2. A Nazam read out by Prof. Hamidi Kashmiri (Head and Prof. Department of Urdu, University of Kashmir, Srinagar) on the birth anniversary of Dr. Mohd Iqbal at College of Education, Srinagar.

at the shrine observed no scruples in making money by exploiting the mass of people who were credulous and superstitious. Gradually this class of exploiters came to have a vested interest in mosques and shrines- in the city of Srinagar, these religious institutions came to be dominated by two groups of pirs and mujavirs, viz;

The custodians of Khanqah-i-Mulla and those of the Jamia Masjid of Srinagar.¹ From this it becomes clear that the innocent and credulous people allowed the control of mosques and shrines to be in the hands of² few people. The mujavirs and preachers, sometimes qualified, did not bother to educate the people simply because of the fact that they in the long run would stand to suffer economically.² Their greed and lust for money and the very ignoble manner in which they stretched their hands to beg alms and receive them, made them objects of hatred and pity. They would sometimes quarrel³ with one another in a bid to grab the offerings with remorseless ease. Internal skirmishes and quarrels for lion's share in the offerings drove them to the courts of law. They did not hesitate to refrain from flight in any form over the offerings.³ However, it is imperative to refer to the factors that made mujavirs so powerful. In the first place the masses of Kashmir were superstitious by nature and this

-
1. The Jammu and Kashmir State Archives, Jammu Repository. File No.97 year 1936.
 2. This information was given by Master Ghulam Ahmad Zuhra, a mujavir of the Khanqah-i-Mulla.
 3. I. Lawrence, op.cit; p.289
 II. Tohfa-i-Mehboobi, p.60.
 III. see Appendix I

made them susceptible to the vile influence of the mujaivirs and pirs. Secondly the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses enlarged the scope of their exploitation at the hands of the crafty attendants of the shrines. Thirdly the mujaivirs in their own interest endeavoured to keep the people in dark so that they continued to be dumb and willing objects of exploitation. Generally speaking the fake shaikhs, false priests and running mujaivirs had been ever deceitful. There are references available from the literature of the time prior to our period of study which bring the image of such shaikhs and mujaivirs within the focus. Nothing would be more relevant, in this context, to refer to then certain shruks (aphorisms) of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Auliya.

To quote the Shaikh:

شیخ گئے یہ مالس تہ مانچھس متی	ملہ چھی خہ شمال ہدین تہ سالس
کھنوں کالس پائنرو مانچھو متی	صوفی خرقہ روٹ لٹھ دتھ آلس
کائنسہ تہ نفس ہنوکہ نہ رٹھ پتھی	اکرتہ نہ گیان کور لگر لکھ کالس
توے مشیدہ کن تران آسی	ملہ چھی سال بوڑھ بلان

"The mullas flourish on cash offerings and feasts while the shaikhs stick frantically to wealth and honey. The so-called sufis donned the shred of a cloak giving up all labour and enjoy a sumptuous meal of several recipes. None pursued the true

knowledge, people became time servers, none could restrain the self. The mullas get well on receiving invitation to a feast, that is why they *were seen running* towards the mosques".¹ Throughout his life, Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, was greatly critical of mullas who used the Quran as a source of profession and received money in return for its use. What appeared astonishing about these mullas in the later periods was the use of Quranic verses and shruks by them as a source of livelihood. They tactfully rallied the people round themselves and taking advantage of their simplicity defrauded them and pushed them into situation of helplessness. However, it must be pointed out here that even the mullas were associated with the shrines. Thus the pirs, mujaivirs and mullas insisted upon the people, particularly their traditional murids to visit the shrines for redemption of sins for fulfilment of their wishes. The mujaivirs directed the people to bring nazrana to the shrine. In Kashmir, this type of pir-i-muridi had been in vogue and under this system no special effort was made by the pirs to impart spiritual training to the people.¹ They did not do even as much as convey to them

1. Lawrence, op.cit., p.270; Il Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, Tarikh-i-Aqwami-i-Kashmir Vol.I, p.346.

In Kashmir no religious duty was performed without the pirs. There was no person other than the pir who could deliver Khutba and lead the prayers. On the basis of the principle of heredity the son of the pir succeeded his father regardless of his worth. The pirs were doing four types of business. These were:- 1. To go to the murids (located at different areas in Kashmir) who were their murids since the time of their forefathers. They paid them two to four rupees as muridi. 2. Second was writing of Tawiz (amulet) and receiving money in return. 3. Thirdly, used to deliver judgements (fatwa). 4. In the fourth place they also received the money for preaching, Fatiha-Khwani, Maulud-i-Sharif and leading the Jinaza (funeral) prayers.

Dr. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, Asran-i-Kashmir; p.171.

the teachings of Quran.

Similarly the mujavirs and other mullas of the shrines prescribed only such practices as met their own. Thus day in and day out they abused their office yet they (Mullahs of the city and of the villages) exerted their influence over their people.¹ Thus the Mullahs and mujavirs had been dominating the society down to the grass-root level. The mullahs and mujavirs made it incumbent on the people to visit the shrines on some particular days. In this context Lawrence has rightly remarked that the mujavirat (custodianship) has completely turned into shopping whereunder Mujavir like a greedy creature always thought of his reward. A large group of idle people (mujavirs) stood for reception at the main gates of the shrine and accompanied the devotees like shadows and finally stretched their hands for alms. It is an accepted fact that their method was always disliked by the people and they hesitated to pay them willingly. The mujavirs instead of praying for the good of the people spoke nonsense and vulgar.²

The invocation for the blessings of the devotees by the mujavir depended upon the amount of money that the mujavir expected to receive from the devotees. It has been observed

1. Ibid; p.291.

2. Kh.Gh.Mohi-ud-din, Tohfa-i-Mehboobi; p.59

that the mujavirs often snatched the money from the purses and pockets of the devotees. The mujavirs made the people to believe that the saint buried in the shrine was alive and one who would tell a lie at the shrine would commit dishonesty. They further added that as seekers they would receive blessedness commensurate with the amount they offered to the mujavirs at the shrine, themselves, all the time, posing as intercessors and mediators between the people and the saint.¹ Such claims as these motivated the innocent devotees to do as the mujavirs wanted them to, and visibly moved the gullible devotees handed over all the money to the mujavirs.

This type of profession and business one came across at all the Ziarats and astans of Kashmir. But the top-ranking shrines dominated by the unscrupulous types of mujavirs were :-

1. Shrine of Amir-i-Kabir-Khanqah-i-Mualla.
2. Shrine of Shaikh Nur-ud-din.
3. Shrine of Baba Zain-ud-din
4. Shrine of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom
5. Shrine of Hazratbal.
6. Shrine of Khanyar.
7. Shrine of Baba Payam-ud-din

1. Dr. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, op.cit; p.98.

And there were many other shrines where Muslims of Kashmir paid nazr-u-nivaz with great pleasure. The income of these shrines was considerable and was divided among the mujaivirs as per the fixed schedule. Besides paying the cash the villagers also brought a share of their paddy crop as an offering to the shrine and one walnut tree in every village was devoted to the shrine of the saint.¹ Moreover, it was customary to bring sheep, goat and cocks to the shrine for sacrifice. Lawrence, while corroborating this fact, says that "the votive offering of the boatmen is a fat ram."²

The people sometimes earmarked a cock, with a view to bringing it as a gift to the mujaivir of the shrine on the eve of a festival. The Babas, Rishis and Pirzadas, though men of no knowledge, were respected in every nook and corner of the valley and they exercised tremendous influence over the common masses.³ The ministers of Rishi shrines were and are still known as Rishis. They did not lead the ascetic and celibate life of their famous predecessors. They confined their duty to the collecting of offerings and it was a job very far removed from the purpose which they were meant to serve, while they led lives of simplicity and austerity and followed a high level of thought.⁴ The mujaivirs

1. Lawrence, op.cit; p.289.

2. Ibid; p.288.

3. Ibid; p.287.

4. Ibid.

had their clients throughout the Valley. Even the pandit community paid them wherever they (mujavirs) visited their respected asami (client). They had their clients outside the state also and proceeded thereafter every two years to collect the nazrana and alms¹ from them. These so-called pirs and keepers of people's conscience usually played fraud on the innocent and ignorant people. Many of them used to keep a hair in a glass tube and go from village to village to tell the people that they (mujavirs) had a relic of Dustgir Sahib or some other saint. Recently one such cheat was caught in a village, beaten and driven away. The so-called holy relic was snatched. His only request was to them not to destroy² the glass tube as that was worth something. Hair, he did not mind. He could get many more.²

Even as the mujavirs welcomed the idea of large congregations at their shrines, they never cared to provide any facility to the pilgrims at the shrines. What they cared for the most was to induce the pilgrims to offer all that they had on them and not what they could afford. This was invariably the case with each shrine and every mujavir in Kashmir. Besides many

1. Lawrence, op.cit; p.291.

• 2. This information was supplied to me by Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki (Retired Director Radio Kashmir, Srinagar). Mr. Nazki is a respectable^{and} knowledgeable gentleman.

new shrines were constructed mainly for the purpose of raising money from it. The progressive increase in the number of shrines in the Valley bears witness to this fact. Thus the mujavirs self-chosen role drifted them from their well marked path of duty, and instead of rendering positive religious and spiritual service, they commercialised their jobs (Khidmat). This naturally defeated the very purpose of all these institutions, the practice of holding religious ceremonies and making offerings at these shrines gained ground. This naturally created a vested interest among the class of mujavirs. This section was completely a parasite class entirely dependent on the society. A thorough survey of most of the shrines in general and important shrines in particular has revealed the extent to which the mujavirs have created and preserved this vested class interest. This chapter is totally based on the information of the mujavirs and those who are having links and intimate contacts with the shrines. Besides the information gathered from the knowledgeable and reliable people, though not linked with the management of the shrines, have by and large confirmed the findings referred to above.

The organisation and management of the shrine establishment was somewhat like that of a mon^aastery. The mutwali of the shrine had a dominant position and he regulated all the activities and daily tasks of the shrine. Selection of the mutwali and mujavirs was made on hereditary basis and there is no reference to

suggest that their selection was made on democratic lines. Only in rare cases, however, the mutwali and not the muja vir was chosen by a lot.¹ Even the ladies fought for the heir and share of the muja virat (custodianship). But many muja viras of modern times, who dislike the idea of begging for alms, by feigning to be what they really are not, have either sold their anwari (turn) on contract basis or received Mitaya,^(brokerage) a form of lease. But no reference helps us to know the complete withdrawal of any muja vir from the shrine- custodianship, because it has brought them handsome dividends. While interviewing a muja vir of Makhdoom Sahibs' shrine, it could transpire that he had a two week turn in a month at the shrine and his minimum amounted to rupees fourteen thousand a month and on occasions of Urs it touched rupees twenty four thousand a month.

Let us first see the vested interests of the attendants of the shrine of Khanqah-i-Mualla, the duties and responsibilities of the mutwalis and other attendants of the shrine can be distinctly followed from the Waqfnama² of Mir Mohammad Hamdani. The muja viras, besides performing many other functions had to arrange for the meals of the pilgrims coming from far flung areas. Lawrence in this connection has said that "the finances of the shrine are based on the assumption that the offerings of the

1. Lawrence, op.cit; p.289.

2. see appendix IV

proxies, which are chiefly made in kind, will be sufficient to defray all expenses, the chief of which is the giving of food to travellers".¹ But the mujavirs hardly cared for this duty and buttered their own toast on both the sides. There is hardly any reference to show that the food was given anywhere at the shrines.² The mujavirs of Khanqah-i-Mualla were not an exception to this rule. Their activities on many occasions led to clash of interests among themselves so much so that they to bring litigation against one another and get their cases decided by the courts of law, reduced their duties to mundane level and the collection of money became their chief motive. There were and still are four major families linked with the custodianship of the shrine at Khanqah-i-Mualla. ^{Here and still} These are :-

1. Zohras, 2. Mirs, 3. Qazims, 4. Muazins.

These families had their fixed time, Schedule of duties. The mujavirs have assigned the weekly schedule of duty to themselves in the following order :-

1. Haft Miran (the week of Mirs)
2. Haft Qazims (the week of Qazims)
3. Haft Bangian (the week of Muazins)
4. Haft Gadyal (the week of Gadyals)

1. Lawrence, op.cit; p.289.

2. The only exception was the shrine of Baba Payam MoDin near Gulnarg where food was served to the pilgrims.

5. Haft Imameen (the week of Imams);
6. Haft Khadman (the week of Khadims); and
7. Haft Farshan and Charagan (the week of Farashan and Charagan)

A peculiar feature of this arrangement of the naubutdars (the parties concerned) was that they sold their rights to the contractors and received the money of nazr-u-niyaz (neth)¹ through the agency of contractors- what is more strange is that the muazins sold even their azan (call for prayer) to contractors who were engaged during the days of Urs (festivals and fairs). The mujavirs for their self aggrandisement made rounds on the compound of the shrine in search of the devotees. They were always in search of new methods and techniques of acquiring money. Once intizamia committee of the shrine put two locked white iron safes one inside the main gate and the other outside the gate for donations needed for repairs of the Khanqah during the Dogra period. Seeing this, the mujavirs put another green safe opposite to the white safe. The income received through that box (green safe) amounts to five lakh and fifty thousand rupees annually at present. Besides, the mujavirs had issued receipt books to raise funds for themselves.² They had made a rule that if anyone among them had no male child but a daughter instead, she would not receive her share in the income of nazr-u-niyaz.

1. Neth is a Kashmiri term which means extortion of money by members of privileged class from the superstitious and ignorant masses.

2. This information was supplied by Master Ghulam Ahmad Zuhra in a written statement.

This ruling gave birth to the disputes and many cases of dispute among the rival claimants to the share of nazr-u-niyaz (offerings) of the shrine were referred to courts of judicature. The cases of Fatima Bibi v/s Gh. Mohi-ud-din Hafiz; and Yusuf Shah Nawabazaar v/s Khazir Mohammad bear testimony to the fact.¹ These disputes arose mainly because of the vested interests of the attendants of the shrine.

JAMIA MASJID

Jamia Masjid occupied the first place among the centres of congregational prayers. It had no relic and, therefore no place to enshrine one. It was only ^a place of worship and enjoyed the highest esteem of the people. Even the Dogra rulers recognised the supreme importance of this mosque. The Mirwaiz dynasty, was responsible for conducting prayers at the mosque. The Maharaja used to bestow ^s Khilat comprising a shawl, a choqa a Fard and a Joder to most of the ulama of Srinagar and Mirwaiz dynasty was given special preference.²

It is noteworthy to mention here that Mirwaiz dynasty rendered service by way of preaching and giving sermons. In course of time Waiz Khawani became a profession. With this

1. see appendix V

2. Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq, op.cit; p.432.

waizeen (preachers) got an opportunity to think of pure interest and work for self-aggrandisement. The people of Srinagar came to be divided into two streams of followers ^{one} devoted to Mirwaiz family and the other to Mirwaiz Hamadani family.¹ Accordingly the mosques and shrines were divided too.

In course of time, the mosque became the centres of political activity and it was here that leaders would sometimes indulge in personal politics. The Maulvis who were assigned the duty of making the people understand Islam and the Quran, themselves indulged in the game of politics which was not at all conformity with the tenets of Quran and the teaching of Hadith.² The Maulvis for their selfish ends raised controversies among the people in order to have a complete hold over the masses. A controversy was generated over the question of disposal of bones of the sacrificial lamb. Certain Maulvis said that the bones should be buried, while others asserted that these should be thrown away in the normal course. A similar controversy was raised over the disposal of the Nikah-Shirini while some pirs wanted it to be distributed among the people, the others would have it thrown away in handfuls.³

1. ~~see infra~~, Jammu Archives File No. 197 Year 1936

2. see paper, Shah Meer, July 18, 1983
It was the last Friday of the month of Ramdan (Jumat-ul-vidah) in 1983; that the two leaders came to the Jamia Masjid and the people cheered and greeted them with slogans like "Abhi, Abhi Khabar Ayi, Shera-Bakra Bai-Bai".

3. This information was furnished by Master Ghulam Ahmad Zhura in a written statement.

The clash of interests among the Maulvis involved them in mutual conflicts. They used mosques, under a plan to secure public support.

Generally it so happened that one Waiz contradicted his opponent, and the ignorant masses became the victims of their exploitation. People got divided into rival factions. They fought and quarrelled, and there were occasions when they created a law and order problem and the law enforcing machine had to act. In his famous Shahr-Ashoob Abdul Ahad Nadim has very aptly depicted this state of affairs thus:-

لُحْنِ رِیْزِ عِظِّ چِکھِ ناہموار	میرِ واعظِ پیرِ تھوڑِ کھارن
تیزِ لُوسِ تیلِ کفارن عار	نِتنِ چِکھِ تھیِ عامن تارن
خارِ دھوکھِ خلقن بارِ اکھِ دیار	نارِ ریتِ دہنِجیہِ اکھِ درتارن
تیزِ لُوسِ تیلِ کفارن عار	توڑِ گئے فردن تہِ بیہِ دستارن

(Mirwaizeen are raising their pulpils very very high. Their voices are very pleasant, but their sermons are poisonous. They communicate the poison of dissension to the people and this is a practice which even non-believers are ashamed of. When they spread the poison of hatred among the people, the masses get divided into rival groups which confront each other. The waiz gets a lot of money. Dhussas and turbans are bestowed on them

in heaps. For this practice even the non-believers would censure the mirwaiz).

The fundamental enmity between the two schools of waizeen again came to fore-front after the 1931 freedom movement. The group of Hamadanis gave their whole-hearted support to the freedom fighters,¹ and the other waizeen of Jamia Masjid opposed *them*.

. It culminated into a great hatred, and the two groups were named as Sher and Bakra. They were branded as such for about fifty years. Both the groups were at daggers drawn, looted, killed and persecuted the women of each other, if the poor lady happened ^{to belong to} a rival household.

SHRINE OF MAKHDOOM SAHIB

The attendants and mujaivirs of the shrine of Makhdoom Sahib constituted a class by themselves with a clear cut vested interest in the shrine named above. Since the religious ceremonies were growing apace the quantum of offerings at the shrine also increased. The pecuniary aspect became the determining and motivating factor of the activities of the mujaivirs. Predictably they tagged their ties more strongly with the shrine. Had there been no offerings and nazir-u-niyaz, there would have been hardly anybody in the compound of the shrine. So far as the shrine of Makhdoom Sahib is concerned there were three groups viz. Pir Sahiban Paen, Pir Sahiban Bala and the Khadims and other beggars.¹

1. Khawaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, op.cit; p.62.

This provides a clear proof of their vested interests which led the parties to fight against each other on a number of occasions. Each group wanted to hold its own against the other group and even the Khadims who had to obey the orders of Pirs tried to become equal share-holders.¹ They played an obnoxious role in exacting money and sometimes snatched the money from the pockets of the spectators and devotees. They did not hesitate in calling them names in a bid to grab money.²

The mujavirs of Makhdoom Sahib shrine were and still are known throughout the valley for their mismanagement and misrule. A police picket had to be posted permanently at the shrine when the babas and pirzadas of the astan quarrelled among themselves over the offerings which virtually have been reduced to spoils by the pugacious pirzadas. Infact the devotees and the pilgrims to the shrine demanded the posting of a police picket there. The attendants, at the shrine, since time immemorial had been at daggers drawn. They knocked the gates of the courts time and again for getting once and for all settled their claim to being the rightful heirs custodianship of the shrine and to share in the offerings.³

-
1. The Khadims came to serve at the shrine later. They were engaged by the two groups of Pirs. They got a small share in lieu of certain services which they were supposed to render. see appendix-I.
 2. Khwaja Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, op.cit; p.69.
 3. see appendix-I.

Finally the parties agreed to refer the cases to arbitration. The parties submitted written statements¹ explaining their respective positions. The statements of the shrine attendants were mainly in regard to their respective self interests. Thus for their own aggrandisement, the parties tried their utmost to win the case by collecting material in support of their statements. This ultimately brought many things to light.

The Pir Sahiban claimed that the Khadims were appointed later by the Pirs as their personal servants. They did not want these services to be rendered any longer, so they felt that the Khadims should, be ousted from the shrine. The Khadims on their behalf refused to accept Muhammad Ali as the adopted son of Makhdoom Sahib. They further claimed that adoption is not recognised under the Shariat Law.

So far as the question of adoption is concerned, the arbitrator argued, "whatever be the truth about the adoption, the fact remains that the ancestors of Pir Sahiban Paen have been recognised as the descendants of the saint."²

-
1. I. The respective rights of the parties in conducting various religious rites and ceremonies performed at the shrine.
 - II. Their rights to the management of affairs of the shrine other than religious ceremonies.
 - III. The share which the Khadims should get out of the offerings made "Shamadan Deerhi Andaruni"
 - IV. For the manner in which the other income accruing to the parties is to be please see appendix-I.
 2. 1. see appendix-I; and
 - II. appendix-II

The arbitrator as a proof cited various orders issued, from time to time, under the various Mughal Emperors. This clearly indicated that the Shaikh Qasim, ancestor of Pir Sahiban Paen, was recognised as the grandson of the saint.¹ The Tauliat was conferred to Shaikh Qasim and his descendants. The descendants of Hassi Reshi (Pir Sahiban Bala) were given a half share in the offerings. So far as the question of Khadims was concerned, the arbitrator decided, the Khadims who had been attached to the shrine for a century could not be ousted in such a sweeping fashion,² particularly when they had been confirmed by the orders passed by the civil courts.² Under such circumstances, it was impossible to oust the Khadims from their services. The Khadims were allowed to perform Khatam-Khwani while the rights to all other observances like Azan, Peshwai, Nimaz and Nat-Khawani rested in the two groups of Pir Sahiban. The arbitrator further said that the Khadims were to be allowed to receive two-fifths share of all coins upto and including fifty paisa and the remaining three-fifths was to go to the Pir Sahiban. But this rule was applied only to Shamadan Deorhi Andruni. The offerings made at other two places called Deorhi Biruni and Rouza Sharif would go to the Pir Sahiban. There were two other items involving the principle of distribution. These were nan and shirini a share of which had to be given to

1. See appendix-I

2. Ibid.

those that kept watch on the shoes which the devotees removed while entering the sacred precincts of Rouza Sharif (Jora Bardari). Finally, the visitors and devotees, the main donors lodged a complaint against both the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims, with the arbitrator, for their (pirs and Khadims) wrong attitude. They (devotees) argued that it was the offerings of the people which was shared by the Pirs and the Khadims among themselves. The people also contributed for the up-keep and maintenance of the shrine. But it was very unfortunate that their interests had never been either properly presented or adequately considered. They also presented one more complaint before the arbitrator about the forcible exactions¹ made by the shrine attendants, the devotees suggested that the parties should be ousted from the shrine for such an offence. The Pirs and the Khadims not only took Nazr-u-Niyaz within the premises of the shrine but they went round the villages collecting money. They recited the following couplet from Allama Iqbal justifying the existence of this custom.

"Ba Muridan roz-o-Shab andar Safr
Az Zarurat-hai millat be-Khabar".

"Wandering through night and day among their 'murids) disciples who are not aware of the requirements^t of millat".

1. See Ghulam Mohi-ud-din Sofi, op.cit; p.61.

The whole case brings forth purely personal and vested interests of the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims. They had no scruples in fighting for these interests among themselves and in joining hands with one another when it was for them to fight, the devotees in a cause common to themselves.¹

HAZRATBAL SHRINE

With the enshrinement of the holy relic(hair) in baradari at Bagh-i-Sadaqabad famous as Hazratbal, a new class of people known as mutwali, mulavirs and khadims came to settle at Dargah in order to consolidate the activities and manage the affairs of the shrine.² The shrine which contains the holy relic(hair) of Muhammad Mustafa (S.a.w.s.) was thronged by almost all sections of people from urban, rural and far-flung areas. Thus innumerable people visited the shrine on every day particularly on Fridays and other festive occasions viz- fairs to seek blessings; deliverance from pain, agony and fulfilment of other desires.¹ The people paid the nazr-u-niyaz (offerings) both in

-
1. See for the whole case the award given on 12.12.1961 by the Financial Commissioner of the State. Copy of the original award is at Appendix-I. See also Appendices II and III.
 2. At Hazratbal there was no population. It was far away from the city habitants. But with the arrival of relic a village first came into existence there which with the passage of time became an urban centre.

cash and kind.* The offerings so received were divided among the attendants of the shrine as per the rules laid down in the Taqseem Nama.¹ (partnership deed) The offerings made in kind would be divided into two shares. One-half would go to the Banday family and the other half would go to Khadims of the shrine. Likewise the income of Nazr-u-Niyaz received on days of Urs, were also distributed among the Bandays and the Khadims.

The Bandays, since the enshrinement of the relic worked as mutwalis.² According to Taqseem Nama,³ the Bandays got nine

1. The very word Taqseem Nama tells us that it is a property and there is a dispute among the partners when a shrine became a property, and the exploiter go to knock at the doors of the courts, it is certainly a wordly affair, and it has nothing to do with the purification of soul and attainment of salvation. There are court cases even for the guardranship (tauliat) of mosques. One would like to ask, why go to court when there is no pecuniary consideration at stake? One would not mind if one is or is not a mutwali if one undertakes the job to please Allah.
2. Tarikh-i-Aqwani-i-Kashmir, Vol. I. p. 238
3. The legality of Taqseem-Nama still holds good as the amount of nazr-u-niyaz is distributed among the above mentioned families as laid down in the Taqseem-Nama. And if any dispute arises among the said families with regard to the distribution of the share of the offerings they move the secular courts and lay a claim to their share on the basis of the Taqseem-Nama.

anna per rupee and the remaining seven anna would go^{To} the Khadims. Besides, if a pilgrim directly handed over anything in cash or kind to the muja¹vir, that was not divisible. If a Khadim died, his place was filled by his eldest son and out of this income he gave a share each to his brothers according to Taqseer Nama.¹ There were also green iron safes for offerings installed at the shrine into which the pilgrims thrust their offerings. The receipts of these were distributed among the various claimants on the basis stated above. One interesting fact about the affairs of Dargah as also those of other shrines is that since the establishment of Idara-i-Awqaf, the mutwalis and muja¹virs ceased to spend a penny on the construction and maintenance of the structures at the shrine. Obviously, these people have a vested interest in their share of the income.

Shrine of Dastgir Sahib

The attendants of the Ziarat-i-Pir Dast^Sgir were not good at performing their duties. Their attitude and activity had had thrown up a wall of separation between the devotees and the saints whose work in the cause of God and religion had been genuine. It is worthy to mention here that it were the descendants of Saiyid Buzarg Shah popularly known as Sakhi Shah²

1. See Appendix V

2. See Supra; p.45.

who worked as the Sajadanisheen¹ and ^c whose the mujavirs for the up-keep and maintenance of the Shrine. They appropriated the offerings made at the shrine by the devotees and divided it according to their fixed schedule.² However, the behaviour of the mujavirs was not satisfactory. They welcomed and respected only those devotees who offered money to them. They ignored and by-passed those devotees who had nothing to offer. Generally the devotees were fed up with the attitude of the attendants of the shrine who cared for nothing else than their self-interest. While visiting the shrine one could find number of green iron safes with an attendant beside each safe. Besides, an iron safe was to be found at the entry gate and one also near the chamber housing the relic.

The income of these safes was distributed among the Sajadanisheen and the mujavirs. Strangely enough, the attendants of the shrine charged money for the cups of drinking water calling it as aabi-shafat, though the drinking water was supplied to the shrines free of charge by the Dogra Maharajas. Very curiously also the rice offered by the devotees at the shrine was given to them as Tabruk by the attendants against cash payments. Moreover, they also distributed the holy ashes

-
1. 'Khilasat-ul-Tawarikh' (Mirza Kamal's Trans.), op.cit; p.409.
 2. But the mujavirs did not receive their due share in the offerings.

among the pilgrims as Khaki-Shafat and charged in return for this. Thus from ashes to water both of which were free- and from shrini (sweets) to rice, everything had a price which the attendants charged from the credulous devotees. This was the range of exploitation of the common, ignorant and superstitious masses by the attendants of the shrine who certainly had a definite vested interest in what they practised.

SHRINE OF SHAIKH NUR-UD-DIN AND OTHER RISHI SHRINES

The attendants of the Rishi shrines of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, Baba-Payam-ud-Din and Baba Zain-ud-Din played the same parasitical role, as other Babas, who lived at the expense of society and contributed nothing, thereby causing damage to the pious tradition of great rishi saints. They confined their duties and services to the collection of offerings instead of providing facilities and guidance to the devotees. They neglected the spiritual and educational aspects of the devotees which the sufis and saints had assiduously worked for. This set path was however followed and acted upon by the immediate disciples of saints. So was the case with first generation of rishis after Shaikh Nur-ud-Din. They established themselves throughout the Valley for the pious mission of preaching humanism and all that. "The most respectable people of this country are the Rishis, who, although they do not suffer themselves to be

fettered by traditions are doubtless the true worshippers of God. They revile not any other sect, and ask nothing of any one; They plant the roads with fruit trees to furnish the traveller with refreshment; they abstain from flesh and have no intercourse with the other sex".¹

But the mujavirs at the rishi shrines commonly known as 'Rishis' did not lead the ascetic and celibate life of their predecessors. The people in the vicinity of the above three important rishi shrines engaged themselves in custodianship or mujavirat of the shrines. They went round all the parts of the Valley annually to collect the alms commonly known as Reshut² from the people. If a Rishi had only one or two families as Khadims in any village, it was their duty to help the Rishi in collecting shali (paddy) and other articles from the whole village. The concerned Khadim had to pay more than what the others paid. The rishis of Ashamuqam shrine wore a peculiar headdress with Zigzag bars of colour,³ while visiting their murids for shali from Zamindars and maize from the Gujjars. The entire population of Aishmuqam used to go to different areas of Kashmir and Kishtiwār for gettingⁿ alms. However, it should

-
1. This reference has been cited by Lawrence from Ain-i-Akbari, Lawrence, op.cit; p.287.
 2. The people who visited the shrines anytime in the year would stay at their traditional Rishis residence. They took something as gift or nazrana to their rishis. They also carried rice and other necessities to prepare the meals for themselves.
 3. It is said that once Baba Zain-ud-Din sent one of his Khalifa for water. But on the way he was seized by the officials for forced labour. The Khalifa returned late at night and was much rebuked by Shaikh Zain-ud-Din. But as the Khalifa gave the reason the whole lidder river got dried up due to the indignation of the rishi. It caused a great loss to the guild of crop. On knowing the real situation the people of the whole area came to Aishmuqam and begged for pardon of the Shaikh.

As mentioned here that the turban was not to be used for the purpose of begging but it was merely an identification mark so that further occurrence of mistakes would be stopped. But the Rishis who were far away from simple living and high thinking¹ used this as a source of livelihood, thereby abusing its original usage. The families which were engaged in naubatdari at the shrine of Baba Zain-ud-Din were as follows:- Mirs, Shahs, Beighs, Jais, Janis, Khacins, Tantrays, Hajis, Nayaks, Mahants, Jhats, Muthis and others.² However, those who did not possess the anwari also got benefitted because of the fact that they also had their murids in different parts from whom they received cash and kind.

So was the case with the Rishis of the shrine of Nur-ud-Din at Jharar-i-Sharif. At Jharar-i-Sharif there were basically eleven families which are entitled to mujavirat.³ These Rishis are called Jhatidar in the local terminology. The Rishi system of mujavirat is also hereditary. The mujavirat was also sold at Jharar-i-Sharif. Now the number of Jhatidars has reached thousands. Those who did not have naubatdari, had their murids in villages who paid them on different occasions. Abdul

... It was then that the Khulfa wore the coloured turban as an identification mark known as Reshi Kachin in Kashmir.

I. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. III; p.131.

II. Lawrence, op.cit; p.233.

1. This information was obtained during the visit to the place in the course of an interview with Rishis and others on 20.3.1989.
2. The names of the headmen of the above said eleven families were as:- Fatchullah Jan, Ibrahim Shah Janai, Alias Jaba Rishi, Aman Jaba Reshni, Mir Abdul Hakko Reshi, Abdul Roshid Jaba Rishi, Mizan-U-din Jaba Reshni, Abdul Karim Jaba Reshi, Mir Fatchullah Reshni, Mohammad Saleh Jan Reshi, Mohammad Hoshin Jaba Reshni.
3. The Qasida which is in the possession of Master Ghulam Nabi at Jharar-i-Sharif makes mention of the eleven families which are entitled to mujavirat.

Ahad Azad has rightly remarked in his Qasida that all the people of Chrar received Azuka through the durbar of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din.¹ The shrine did not provide for begging among the people of Chrar but the residents in the neighbourhood received alms from different areas of Kashmir.²

So it does not need any evidence to prove that all these shrines and mosques lost all the sanctity and respect, they had once enjoyed. These places became the dens of intrigue and conspiracy among the warring claimants and these holy institutions were polluted to such an extent that they were no more than the property of unscrupulous and dishonest exploiters. This was the darkest side of their existence and every right thinking man was sorry for this.

MUSLIM REVIVALIST MOVEMENT

In almost all the religions, as we can notice from their history, the laity, particularly the more gullible and superstitious sections have been exploited in all times and in all the parts of the world by the priests for their selfish motives.

-
1. The Qasida is in the possession of Master Ghulam Nabi at Chrar-i-Sharif.
 2. The retired Master Ghulam Nabi informed that once he had gone to Kamraz area and stayed there for a night. Meanwhile a person came there saying "I am a rishi from Chrar" which he was not. The people showed him all respect without caring to verify his antecedents.

In fact they reduced this exploitation of ignorant and illiterate followers to a system and traded under it without any investment. The Roman Catholic Church exploited the Europeans for a considerable period of time. Similarly the Brahmans in India exploited the common and innocent Hindus only to ensure their position as supreme. Similarly in Islam, the priests followed the same path and held people in a state of perpetual bondage.

This unhealthy trend prevailing in different religions was ultimately defeated by the thinkers and right minded socio-religious reformers who received support from the educated class. The Renaissance in Europe was one such movement. Among other things it aimed at eradicating superstitions beliefs among the Christians. Similarly in India the educated class of Hindus opposed caste system¹ and other evils.

Within Islam too emerged a movement which stood for abolition of obnoxious customs, superstition and the mundane activity of the dervesh and the ulama acting in flagrant violation of Arabia itself.² Ibn Taimiya³ (1263-1328) was the

-
1. Mahatma Gandhi played a heroic role in uplifting the Harijans to the status of other community brethren.
 2. The destruction of Abbasid Caliphate at the hands of Mongols, marked the decline of Islam as a world force. This event sent tremors through the Muslim world. During this time the Sunni traditional law had come to stay and many innovations had crept into Islam. H. Laoust, Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1971
 3. Not unlike Martin Luther, Ibn Taimiya sought to strip away the medieval superstitions. He (Ibn Taimiya) attacked belief in the power of saints and pious men all the associated practices, such as worship of tombs and reliance upon the intercession of the Prophet (pbuh) or the saints. Edward Martimer, op.cit; p.60.

first man to raise the cry and he revolted against superstitions, tomb worship and other customs and traditions.¹

It would sound strange here that Ibn Taimiya who was a great enemy of the cult of tombs² was himself buried in the cemetery of the sufis, as irony would have it, his tomb is today an object of reverential homage of countless visitors.³ After the death of Ibn Taimiya the dominant form of contemporary Islam was permeated with abuses particularly at the hands of Turks.⁴ Some new customs and traditions had crept into the practices of the Muslims. These beliefs and superstitions remained intact with them for a considerable period of time. No reform movement seems to have taken place to check the beliefs, tomb worship and similar other practices until the

1. Maulana Saiyid Ali-Hassan Abul Nadvi, Tarikh-i-Dawat-va-Azimat; pp. 119-145.

2. Edward Mortimer, op.cit; p.60.

3. It must be pointed out here that Ibn Taimiya held Ulama (worldly) responsible for all the innovations in Islam. Many of the judgements appeared to him heretic based on the consensus of the ulama who had refused to examine whether their opinions were in harmony with the Book. The ulama as such deprived the people of the right of Ijtihad. Julius Germanus, Modern Movements in Islam; pp.9-10.

4. Carl Brokelman, History of Islamic Peoples; p.352.

beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century A.D. The reform movement in Islam was launched in Central Arabia where Wahabbism had its origin. The movement was founded by Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab (1703-1783)¹ of Najd. He wanted to preach and practice what actually had been said and done by the Prophet (pbuh) and his companions.²

Because of his vast study and profound knowledge of the Quran and Hadith, he vehemently criticised saint worship, grave-worship and other innovations.³ He wanted to restore Islam to its puritan and pristine glory.⁴

In Kashmir there were many unislamic practices prevalent among the Muslims during our period. The impact of shrines and their regular attendants also known as vested interest class gave birth to many irrational and negative factors. No doubt the Muslims had embraced Islam long before our period of study but they had not severed their ties with the age old beliefs. They (Muslims and Hindus) sometimes worshipped the same object. For instance, the foot print at

-
1. He was shocked it seems, by the *laxity* of the society in which he grew up-- its neglect of the prescribed rates and prayers, its promiscuity and its tolerance of superstition. Edward Mortimer, op.cit; p.60.
 2. Edward Mortimer, Faith and Power; p.244. However it is very necessary to mention here that Muhammad Ibn Wahab had made a thorough study of the writings of Ibn-Taymiya and these writings had great influence on him.
 3. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, Tawheed Kaey hay; p.20
 4. Edward Mortimer, op.cit; p.249.

Waripora and Fatehpore were worshipped and revered by members of both the communities with equal zest. The Hindus took it as 'Vishnu Pad' and the Muslims as 'Kadm-i-nasul'. The idol worship which was common among Hindus took the form of grave-worship among Muslims. Avtarparash assumed the form of Pirparasti. The pujars¹ of the shrines took the place of the pujaris of temples. The erection of tombs and celebration of anniversaries of saints with enthusiasm was regarded to be such practices as were in conformity with the teachings of Islam.¹ It had become very difficult to distinguish between the hadith and non-Sunnah. The hadith and sayings of sufis, maulvis, darveshs and poets were regarded as equally valid. The people did not consider it a sin to call a saint a nabi (poh) and nabi as God.² Maulana Hali has thus remarked, "Nabi (poh) could be raised to the pedestal of God, The status of imams could be raised higher to that of nabi (poh). People would make offerings at the sanctuaries day and night and would invoke the blessings of the martyrs. All this would not impair the principle of tauhid (unity in oneness of God) nor would it obliterate Islam."³ There were many other customs and superstitions ingrained in the very nature of the Kashmiri. Mirza Haider Dughlat had said that so many heresies have been legitimized in Kashmir

1. Gopi Ahmed Muslim, Taukh-i-mulhadis; p.66.

2. *Ibid*; p.66.

3. Maulana Hali, Musadis-i-hali; p.19.

that people know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. The so-called Pirs and sufis are "forever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen information regarding either future or the past....Consider the holy path (shariat) second in importance to the true way (tariqat) and that in consequence the people of the 'way' have nothing to do with the 'Holy Law'. The observations of Mirza Haider close with the following prayer-- "May the most high God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortunes and calamities as this and turn them all into the true path of righteousness"¹. The saint-worship, grave-worship and such other practices have been noted with great concern by the great poet Dr. Muhammad Iqbal who after his return from Kashmir wrote some verses in persian which convey that the Kashmiri who is praying to God has made the graves as idols by mounting decorated stones on the graves.²

Besides, while answering letter of Muhammad-din-Fauq Iqbal wrote to him that he had written a lot on Kashmiris and had done them a good turn, but he had missed to write something on practice of grave-worship among Kashmiri Muslims.³

1. G.M.D.Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir; p.10.

2. Mirza Arif, An article Iqbal Aur Kashmir.

3. Muhammad Abdullah Qureshi, Ruhi-Maqatib-Iqbal; p.174.

He was also a redoubtable opponent of mujavirs for their activities at Khanqahs and shrines.

These practices eventually gave rise to a movement among the educated people in Kashmir during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885). Some people with Husain Shah Batku¹, as their leader raised their voice against tomb-worship, Pir Muredi and criticised the astanparasti.² These customs were deeprooted in the Muslim community. Husain Shah made bold to say that these traditions had been borrowed by Muslims from Hinduism.³ He also emphasized and advocated tauhid (oneness of God) and delivered a series of lectures on tauhid and urged the people to follow all that had been practised by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). His criticism of grave-worship and saint-worship was not liked by the mullahs mujavirs and muftis of Srinagar.⁴ As a matter of fact, the pirs and guardians of shrines^e were having complete hold over the society.⁵ Fearing the erosion of their influence over the

1. Husain Shah being resident of Batakpora near Madin Sahib in Srinagar was nicknamed as Batku by the Mullahs.
2. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol.I; p.442. Husain Shah had visited many literary centres in India. He had the privilege of being pupil of prominent Ahlihadi leader like, Nazir Husain Dehlavi. He gained much knowledge from these associations which ultimately brought about a great change in his religious thought.
3. Maulvi Anwar Shah, Basharat-ul-Mumineen; p.36.
4. Tarikh-i-Hassan, Vol.I; p.442.
5. During our period of study, an Anjuman criticised the mullahs and mujavirs for their attitude. The mullahs by exploiting the ignorant masses got so much support that the followers of the Anjuman were nicknamed as Yezar pirs and the Anjuman fizzled out. G.H.Khan, Freedom Movement in Kashmir p.75.

dumb-driven millions of Kashmiris they (pirs and mujavirs) raised a cry against Husain Shah and issued fatwas (decrees) against him, accusing him of being an infidel.¹ There was panic and disturbance in the valley and hatred was generated among the people against Husain Shah. The Muslims were not allowed to talk to him.² The opposition of the mullahs and mujavirs was so strong that Maharaja was compelled to give orders for Husain's expulsion from Srinagar.³

However, Husain Shah was able to influence and motivate the minds of some prominent citizens of Srinagar namely Sabzar Shah, Abdul Aziz Chikan, Maulvi Hasan Shah and others.⁴ Having been expelled from Srinagar, Husain Shah preached Islam and criticised the customs and superstitions in many villages⁵ of Tehsil Shupian. He got reasonable response from Shupian which has been referred to by Lawrence in his work. He observed that as many as two hundred families in Shupian accepted the Wahabbi faith.⁷

1. Maulvi Anwar Shah, op.cit; pp.36-37.

2. Muslim, April 2, 1958; p.11-12.

3. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubarki, Khutba-i-Sadarat; p.31. It must be pointed out here that Husain Shah did not lay any emphasis on Jihad like Wahabbi leaders in India.

4. Muslim, January, 1959.

5. He went to village Yaripora and NaasNoor to preach his doctrines and fought Ahmadiyas there as they had made it their centre of preaching.

6. Founder of this movement was Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab of Najd. That is why it became famous as Wahabi Movement. Tarikh-i-Hasan, Vol. I; p.442.

7. Lawrence, op.cit; p.285.

Husain Shah succeeded in influencing the great personalities like Atta Muhammad Khan,¹ a raia of the time. He won a considerable number of followers. That section of the residents of Srinagar city who had accepted doctrine continued their tirade against the superstitions, tomb-worship and grave-worship. They faced too much opposition at the hands of mujavirs, rishis and mutualis of the shrines. It should be mentioned here that this movement was a great challenge to them (mujavirs) and jeopardized their interests. The mullahs resorted to social boycott of the wahabbis. They (mullahs) justified the violence against Wahabbis.² The mullahs issued fatwas to the effect that the dead bodies of the Ahl-i-Hadith should not be buried in the Muslim graveyard and no Muslim should enter into matrimonial alliance with them, nor were the Ahl-i-Hadith to be allowed to enter the mosques.³ The Wahabbis did not gain much ground in Srinagar except at Marwala, where Jaozar Shah carried on his activities.⁴

After the death of Husain Shah, the movement gained ground mainly owing to the efforts of Anwar Shah of Shopian.⁵

1. Muhammad Assadullah Qurashi, op.cit; pp.39-41.

2. Muslim, March 2, 1961; pp.5-6.

3. Ibid; April 5, 1961. Mir Waiz Ahmadullah, Ahl-i-Hadith Kai Misoat; p.1.

4. Farikh-i-Hassan, Vol.I; p.442.

5. Muhammad Ayub and Abdullah Razvi, Weerposh; pp.13-15. Anwar Shah was a pupil of Hussain Shah and studied Quran and jurisprudence under Hussain's guidance.

Anwar Shah vehemently criticized the customs, the Muslims of Kashmir had been following blindly. He challenged the ceremonies and rites performed by the Muslims. He launched his tirade against the shrines.¹ For this reason the Ahl-i-Hadith people were nicknamed and denounced as Kutas² and Ahl-i-hawa.

However in due course of time Anwar Shah laid the foundation of Ahl-i-Hadith mosque at Zaldagar.³ He succeeded in influencing and motivating a prominent shawl trader of Kashmir namely Haji Muhammad Shahdad.

With the passage of time the followers of Ahl-i-Hadith⁴ constructed some new mosques and gained some more ground.

With the association of Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubaraki the movement of Ahl-i-Hadith from 1920 A.D. onwards further succeeded in moulding and influencing the people. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi was the imam and preacher of the Bazar mosque. His knowledge and oratory attracted a sizeable number of people to Ahl-i-Hadith.⁵

1. Maulvi Abdul Ghani, Khatijat-ul-Subra; p.3-4.

2. M.D. Khan, op.cit; p.108.

3. It was the first mosque of the Ahl-i-Hadith in the whole Valley. They (Ahl-i-Hadith) made this mosque a centre of their preaching.

4. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubaraki, Tahqueek-i-Waqt-Juma; p.4.

5. Maulvi Ghulam Nabi Mubaraki, Moezat-ul-Fatiha; pp.5-7.

The Mullahs, muftis, mujaivirs and mutwalis did not stop their tirade against the Ahl-i-Hadith for the opportune moment to humiliate them. That is why, the Ahl-i-Hadith were forcibly driven out of the Aali Masjid on the day of Id-ul-Fitr. Their presence in the mosque on such an occasion was not liked by the Hanafis. They (Hanafis) charged them for creating chaos and confusion.¹

The Ahl-i-Hadith did not deflect from the course of their activities. They persisted in preaching their mission. One important point which the mullahs, and mujaivirs feared the most was the denial by the Wahabbis of the doctrine of Hayat Nabi² (concept of the perpetuity of the Prophet s.a.w.s). The Wahabbis further advocated that there could be no link between the living and the dead. They also regarded it mushrikana (polytheistic to consider the ambiya and aulid as successor before God.³ Evidently they wanted the society to follow the principle of Quran and Hadith. The Ahl-i-Hadith in the twenties of this century founded Anjumn-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. Following were the founding members of the Anjumn. Haji Munammad Shahdad, Ghulam Nabi Mubarki, Abdul Aziz Chikan, Shaikh Shah Muhammad, Dr. Ramzan Ali and others.⁴ Haji Muhammad

1. Mirwaiz Ahmad-ullah, op.cit; p.1-2.

2. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.108.

3. Sofi Ahmad Muslim, op.cit; p.34.

4. ~~Ibid~~ M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.108.

Shahdad was made the first President of the Anjumn and Mubarkhi its Secretary. The establishment of the Anjumn-i-Ahl-i-Hadith was, however, not liked by the Mullahs and Muftis. They issued fatwa against the organisation.¹

The ahl-i-Hadith now filed a case against the mullahs, muftis and others.² After a couple of hearings, the court decided the case in favour of the Ahl-i-Hadith which greatly encouraged them to carry on their mission. Thereafter they openly preached against pirs and shrines.³ The growing influence of the Wahabbis alarmed the mullahs who in collaboration with other opponents of the Wahabbis established in 1932 A.D.⁴ the Anjumn-i-Tablig-ul-Islam, in order to fight menace of the Wahabbis.

IMPACT OF THE MUSLIM REVIVALIST MOVEMENT

The Ahl-i-Hadith movement throughout the period under study preached and emphasized the two main sources of Islam. These constitute the Quran and the Hadith.⁵ They wanted the Muslims to follow with tenacity the teachings of Quran and

1. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.108

2. Haji Muhammad Shahdad, op.cit; p.3.

3. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.108.

4. Sofi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, op.cit; pp.112-113.

5. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.108.

Hadith in pursuit of the faith. In order to smoothen the way for this the Ahli-Hadith launched a tirade against all those practices and traditions that were contrary to shariat. Their mission and subsequent activities brought them into direct conflict with self-aggrandised vested-interest class who wanted to keep the common and credulous Muslims in a state of ignorance and illiteracy. The fatalist and superstitious Kashmiris had all along been under the sway and control of mulla¹ and mujaivirs. However, the Wahabbis courageously went forward and tried their best to purge Islam of the customs and traditions that had crept into it due to local influences. In the process the Ahli-Hadith movement made an impact on a section of the people. Consequently the practices of arranging Juma Chae and Khatam Sharif were abandoned in the Ahli-Hadith families. They waged a crusade against the celebration of Urs and anniversaries of the saints.² Though the anniversaries of the saints^t are still celebrated by a great majority of the Muslims in the Valley but growing indifference towards the participation in and attendance at the festivals of saints now exists among the educated Muslims.³ But more importantly the Ahli-Hadith succeeded in exposing the evil of exploitation resorted to

1. G.H.Khan, op.cit; p.72

2. Maulvi Anwar Shah, op.cit; p.11.

3. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.109.

by the mujaivirs, mutwalis and the mullahs. This helped the Ahl-i-Hadith in relieving, to some extent, the common and ignorant people from the tyranny of the Pirzadas, Babzadas, Rishis, mullahs and the custodians of the shrines.¹ Though the majority of Muslims remained uninfluenced by the teachings of the Ahl-i-Hadith the movement did not fail to change the attitude of a sizeable section of the Muslims.² The spread of education and circulation of literature greatly helped in extending the Ahl-i-Hadith movement. Many people including some of the pirs, mullahs and mujaivirs (custodians of the shrines) could not close their eyes to the growing influence of the Ahl-i-Hadith as they themselves said Wahabbi ideas were gaining ground in the city of Srinagar.³ Consequently the visits to shrines for grant of boons and the practice of tying the strings to the gates and windows of the shrine have died down among the Ahl-i-Hadith families.⁴ The Muslims as a matter of fact fought against each other. The mullahs played a nefarious role in dividing the Muslims into different sects for their self-aggrandisement. They preached the things that served their own interests. The Ahl-i-Hadith fought against the inter-community differences and stressed unity among the Muslims.⁵ They emphasized the concept of tauhid

1. The cunning mujaivirs still defraud the credulous people as and when they find an opportunity.

2. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.109.

3. W.R.Laurence, op.cit; p.285.

4. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.109.

5. M.I.Khan, op.cit; p.185.

(unity of God). This really aroused the sense of awareness among the Muslims of Kashmir who had all along considered mullahs as their true masters and had reposed great confidence in their pirs.¹

However, one should not lose sight of the fact that Islam mainly spread in Kashmir due to unending efforts of sufis, sadats, saints and rishis. The crusade against the worship of shrines by the Ahl-i-Hadith has been interpreted by a great number of people as an attack on the pious sufis. The attitude of the Ahli-Hadith has come in for censure and this attitude more than any thing else is believed to have the spirits of the common engendered much ill will against them. In such an atmosphere as this the Ahli-Hadith obviously failed to gain much ground in the Valley.

1. W.R.Lawrence, op.cit; p.285.

CHAPTER 4TH

IMPACT OF SHRINES ON EDUCATION:

•••

Islam attaches immense importance to the acquisition and extension of ilm (knowledge).¹ He who acquires knowledge performs an act of piety and who imparts it to its fitting objects performs an act of devotion to God. It is education which enlightens one's mind and enables one to make a proper distinction between right and wrong, true and false. It frees the mind from ignorance and superstition and fills it with reason and truth. It frees the soul from sin and wrong, and quickens its goodness and purity. It frees the self from vanity and greed, from envy and tension, from fear and insecurity. It frees man from subjugation to false duties and low desires, and unfolds before him the beautiful horizons of goodness and excellence. Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) himself said, "any person who dies while seeking knowledge will be treated equally with the Prophets".² But it is very important to remember:-

علم را برتن زنی مارے بود علم را بر دل زنی یارے بود

-
1. Islam is a religion without any mythology and priesthood. Its teaching is simple, intelligible and practical. It is open to everyone and one can approach the Book of God directly. Islam awakens in man the faculty of reason and exhorts him to use his intellect. It enjoins him to see things in the light of reality. The Quran advised man to pray: 'O my Lord; Advance me in knowledge' (20:114). It asserts that those who have no knowledge are not equal to those who have it; that those who do not observe and understand it are worse than cattle (7:179); that the meaning of revelation became manifest to those who have knowledge (6:97) and knowledge indeed has been given an abundant good (2:269); that basic qualifications for leadership are, among other things, knowledge and physical strength (2:247); and that of all things it is by virtue of knowledge that man is superior to angels and has been made vicegerent of God on earth (2:130).

(That knowledge which is achieved for mere show and worldly benefits proves to be a snake and that knowledge acquired for the sublimation of mind becomes one's friend¹). This kind of knowledge really becomes our company in solitude, our companion when bereft of friends. Education infact enables one to realise one's own worth and to recognize God. It enables the servant of God to rise to a noble position, associate with sovereigns in this world and attain the perfection of happiness in the next.²

The whole of Arabian peninsula was sunk into barbaric ignorance on the eve of the appearance of Muhammad Mustafa (p.b.u.h.) The period before Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) was known as jahaliya (period of barbaric ignorance) only because of the lack of proper education. In Quran and Hadith a man has been repeatedly enjoined to acquire knowledge so as to gain the title of Ashraf-ul-Makhlukat (crown of creation). Even Sura-i-Iqra³, the first revealed version of Holy Quran opens with the injunction addressed

---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---.---

F.N. 2 Al Aitiqad, December, 1985, p. 6.

1. Ibid.,

2. Amir Ali, Spirit of Islam, pp. 360--61.

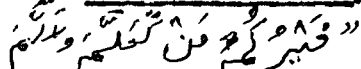
3. This is known as Sura-i-Qlaq in Quran. One day in the month of Ramzan, Prophet (p.b.u.h.) was busy in worship in Gar-i-Hira (cave of Hira) and there appeared God's angel Gabriel-i-Ameen who said to the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) to recite Iqra (read). A. S. Mohammad Abdul Hai, Ma'at Tavyaba, pp. 31--32.

to Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) who, then, through his sayings stressed both reading and teaching. In this connection he said "The search for knowledge is a duty for every Muslim (male or female)" "acquire knowledge though it will be found in China" "Seek knowledge from cradle to the grave"¹ The Prophet further said "The best among you is the one who learns himself as well as imparts knowledge to others"².

The holy Prophet in his last sermon addressed in the plains of Arafat (Arabia), stressed the present gathering of Muslim Umah to convey his message to those who were absent and to continue the process of conveying the message to the succeeding generation so that they may follow the right path.³ It becomes evident that the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) enjoined the Muslims to spread education from generation to generation.

The origin of establishment of the Muslim educational institutions goes back to the construction of Masjid-i-Nabvi at Madina. A portion of the mosque was reserved for those who chose to devote themselves to learning under the direct supervision of the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h.) This came to be known

1. B. A. Lemu and Fatima Heeren, Women in Islam, p. 15.

2. The Hadith contains as "  "

3. A. S. Muhammad Abdul Hai, op. cit., p. 182.

as Suffah (platform) and the inmates as Ashab-i-Suffah¹ (companions of the Prophet). The members of this group were greatly benefitted by becoming permanent companions of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) The Suffah became the training centre for Muslim religious education. History records that this institution produced dextrous and skilled leaders in all the fields of life. Ever since the mosques, besides being the centres of worship, became the centres of learning as well. After the prayers particularly of morning and evening, the Shaikh (Imam) taught the Quran to the Muslims and discussions were held and questions were asked on theology. As the educational activity rapidly grew first the Caliphs and then the Kings continued building the mosques adjoining schools². Consequently, education grew apace in the Muslim world. Schools and academies sprang up in every part and the public libraries were established in every city where every seeker of knowledge found free access. It resulted in the growth of intellectual activity³.

Indians as a people have great reverence and love for learning. Since their first appearance in authentic history, they have enjoyed the reputation of being a learned people. In our ancient tradition education was regarded as the most important tool for self-realization, the title of the ancient

1. Majid Ali Khan, Muhammad the Final Messenger, p. 114.

2. S. L. Seru, History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir, p. 19.

3. G. M. D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p. 146.

Indian scriptures, the Vedas, signifies knowledge having been derived from the word 'vid' meaning to know. Thus knowledge or learning was the corner-stone of our ancient system of education which was earnestly sought as a means to the highest end of life i.e. emancipation.

Kashmir has been the centre of learning since ancient times. The praises of Kashmir have been sung by the writers, authors, poets and others since time immemorial. P. N. K. Bamzai observes, "certainly there are ruins of temples and buildings all over the Valley remarkable for their Egyptian solidity, simplicity and durability, as well as for what Cunningham describes as 'there graceful elegance, the massive boldness of their parts, and the happy propriety of their out-lines. And Kashmir has a unique distinction of possessing an unbroken historical record from ancient times to the present day in the field of literature and philosophy. It stands second to none in the rest of India, for learning, lofty houses, saffron, grapes, icy-water-- things that in heaven are difficult to find are common here."¹

Thus Kashmir has not been famous for its splendour and natural grandeur alone. It has been a famous seat of learning in ancient times. In the words of Grierson, "For upwards of 2000 years Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and from

1. Stein, Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Book-I, Vol. I.

this small Vailey have issued master-pieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy"². The knowledge of Sanskrit appears to have been of high order. The scholars developed their own alphabet, the Sharda character for the writing of Sanskrit books. P. N. K. Bamzai quoting Ksmendra's remarks states "It was the ambition of every student of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy to go to Kashmir to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom that gushed forth from the 'land of Sārda the goddess of learning"².

The Viharas and monasteries played a great role in spreading education. The monasteries were open to all who wanted to follow the path of morality. The temple-based gura or a vihara based monk played the role of a school teacher in ancient Kashmir.³ On looking through Kashmir history (under the Muslims) one has to admit the fact that the education and learning were encouraged

1. F. N. K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 51.

2. P. N. K. Bamzai, op. cit., p. 60.

3. Paper, Buddhism and Education in Ancient Kashmir, J. N. Ganhar. The Buddhist monks always adopted the method of non-formal education, where spoken word was more important. The popularity of Sanskrit language becomes clear by the fact that in India Buddhist literature was written in pali but it was put into Sanskrit writing-- in Kashmir.

and promoted. Khanqahs¹, shrines and Maktabas were established to educate the people. However, in this endeavour the main role was played by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani. It was he who founded the Khanqahs. It was at this (Sayyid Ali Hamadani's) instance that Maktabas were established in all the important villages and towns for the teaching of Quran and Hadith.² That is why the credit of peaceful revolution (spread of Islam) in Kashmir goes to him.³

Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani travelled widely in the Valley. He left his deputies at a number of places to teach in the Khanqahs, Maktabas and madrassas which ultimately became important centres of preaching and proselytisation.⁴ The Khanqah system established by Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani continued to work from the period onwards and played very important role in freeing the Muslims of Kashmir from Hindu influence.⁵ The Sultans, besides patronising Khanqahs,

-
1. A Khanqah is a Muslim monastery or religious institution, where darveshes and other seekers after truth congregate for religious instruction and devotional exercises. It is a Muslim institution analogous in many respects to a math, where religious instruction is given according to the Hindu faith. Fyzee, Outlines of Muhammadan Law: p. 324.
 2. G. M. D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p. 147.
 3. Prior to Mir Sayyid Ali's arrival in Kashmir Muslims were in minority and were not aware of the true spirit of Islam. Since it was the mission of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani to set right the Muslims of the land, he deputed many of his comrades at different places to educate the people. Sayyid Ali, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 4ab. 2a, 3a.
 4. A. Q. Rafiqi, op. cit., p. 38.
 5. R. K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, p. 105.

established colleges, Universities and other institutions, where both local and the non-local Muslims used to come for achieving higher knowledge. Sultan Sikandar is said to have built a college near Jamia Masjid which was known as college of Jamia Masjid. He bestowed Wagam pargana as wagf for the maintenance of the college and the hostel.¹ Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is said to have founded a University at his capital Naushahr.² Sultan Hasan Shah also founded a famous college. He succeeded in prevailing upon the pious and the learned to teach the inmates of the college. He gave Zainpur as jagir to the college which was known as Dar-u-Shifa and was constructed in the northern corner of Koh-i-Maran near Khanqah-i-Kubravi. Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom, well known saint of Kashmir, was a student of this college.³

It seems necessary to mention about the Reshi system of education. Reshism built up its own philosophical and educational tradition, which existed quite independent of official control and government encouragement. Attached to the tradition of simple living and high thinking practised by the Reshi saints, their

-
1. G. M. D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p. 147.
 2. Ibid., II, M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 143.
 3. G. M. D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p. 149.

system of education became highly popular among Kashmiris. As a result of consistent effort put in by the Reshi saints in terms of educating the Kashmiri people, a fresh educational programme was launched in the Valley which was characterised by the novelty of its approach.¹ This programme of education aimed at educating its disciples with definite purpose in view. It also trained its followers in the spiritual sense of the term. The scheme was non-formal and natural in its content. They (Reshis) believed that the basic purpose of self-mortification and spiritual concentration was to bring man close to the understanding of the universal reality. Being a purely personal scheme of learning and training, Reshism had no specific centres for imparting their instructions. Therefore, the place, where the Reshi saints resided became the centres of their education. These could be divided into three categories viz., caves,² khangahs and shrines.^{2a}

-
1. Their scheme of education was domestic in character, in so far as the disciples and the guide lived together. They ate whatever was available there.
 2. The caves are those natural places of dwelling in which Reshis used to practise meditation. During the process of realization of God, young Rishis were ordered by their preceptors to enter the lonely caves and achieve the high level of self-realization. It was in these caves that they used to give spiritual guidance to their followers. Shaikh-ul-Alam spent twelve years in the cave at Koimoh village where he educated and guided three hundred disciples. The people in general used to come individually or in groups to these caves. They brought gifts for their preceptor. The gifts included food, sugar, bread and other things which were used in the kitchen for those who put up in the cave.
 - 2a. Their (Rishis) shrines, as centres of education were sacred places of the pilgrimage. These caves symbolised the austerities and virtues of their founders. From these caves (centres of local orders of holymen) emanated the light which necessarily influenced and benefited the people. The Rishis, through their word and deeds, the principles of

[Promulgated

The Reshi scheme made a direct and healthy impact.

It became possible through the use of Kashmiri language (native language) as the medium of instruction. Sufis from Central Asia and Persia imparted education in Arabic or Persian which was the language of the elite and beyond the comprehension of the local population. Contrary to this, the message of Rishis was understandable to the illiterate and common people of the Valley. The Muslim rule in Kashmir saw the promotion of the learning both in Sanskrit and Persian. There were Muslim scholars learned in Sanskrit and Hindus with sound scholarship in Persian and Arabic.

The Khangahs¹, shrines and mosques² played a great part in the dissemination and growth of knowledge both religious and general.

The patronage of Sultans, queens and nobles to the cause of learning resulted in wide-spread education in Kashmir. The process started by eminent Sayyids was continued and it flourished in course of time. The Rishi system of education which was naturally non-formal proved instrumental in promoting the cause of education. The growth in the number of educational institutions and promotion of learning in every nook and corner of the Valley

-
1. A khangah commenced its functioning first as the centre of an order and then the oratory of its founder. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, p. 32.
 2. It was used both for Ibadat and instruction.

were generated by three main agencies, viz., Maktabas (private houses which were generally attached to mosques); Khanqahs¹ (a religious establishment for holymen; and madrassas (formal institutions of higher learning akin to present day colleges)². During the Muslim period ^{flourished} great scholars devoted mainly to propagation of religion. They compiled the biographies of the saints which not only speak of the miracles performed by the saints but throw enough light on social, political, economic educational and cultural activities of the period. These works are considered reliable sources for the period.

The Muslim children were usually given education with a formal ceremony known as Bismillah-Khwani³ (initiation) or Maqtab ceremony.⁴ This ceremony was performed when a boy was four year, four month and four days old.⁵ They were mostly taught Arabic and

-
1. In the Khanqahs of Sufis, elementary education was imparted mostly to grown up people. It was non-formal in character whereunder preachers delivered sermons on Islamid jurisprudence, Prophet's (p.b.u.h.) sayings to the educated people. Khanqahs were maintained by nobles, rulers and through creation of endowments.
 2. Journal of Annamalai University, Vol. II, p. 934.
P. N. Ojha, Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India, p. 41.
 3. P. N. Ojha, Glimpses of Social Life in Mughal India, p. 41.
K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of People of Hindustan, p. 249; Binode Kumar Sahay, Education and Learning Under Great Mughals, p. 7.
 4. L. F. Smith Saw this ceremony (Maqtab ceremony) in North West Province. As Kashmir at that time was part of the Afghan Kingdom, so the Afghan influence must have been very much there. N.N.Law, Promotion of Learning in India, p. 128.
 5. Thomas Patrick Haighes, A Dictionary of Islam, p. 41.
N. N. Law, op. cit., p. 128.

Persian by the teachers (Maulvis) who were occasionally paid by the parents when the student started new books or got married. The Muslims called their teacher as Maulvi Sahib, Muddaris, Munshi Sahib or Ustad and the Hindus called them Gurus. On entering the school, the student was provided with a slate and Sura Iqra, a chapter of the holy Quran written on it.¹ The student was asked to repeat it a number of times. After completing the primary formalities the student was called Talibilm. The subjects to be taught were karima Nami Haq, Gulistan and Bostan. Besides this Sikandar Nama was taught to the students.²

After the Muslim rule, the patronage of Muslim institutions by ruling class ended automatically.³ The end of Mughal rule witnessed further decline ever thereafter. The khangahs and shrines which were the main centres of learning were reduced to places of festivity. A practice which ultimately deflected these from their main purpose. After Mughals, Kashmir came under the rule of Afghans.⁴ Kashmir which had been a pioneer of progress and beacon of

1. N. N. Law, op. cit., p. 128. In case of rich people the slate was generally made of silver.
2. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 77.
3. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 7.
4. A complete satire on Afghan aristocracy and high handedness is depicted by poet in the following couplet:-

(Tr. I enquired of the gardener the cause of the destruction of the garden, drawing a deep sigh, he replied, "It is the Afghan who did it")

enlightenment, declined under the tyranny and harshness of the Afghan rulers. Sikh rule¹, which was both short and cruel, did not witness any progress in the field of education.

After Sikhs Kashmir came under the rule of Dogras.² The majority of rulers of the Afghan, Sikh and Dogra dynasties were oppressive by their nature. They depended upon loot and plunder. Kashmir became a milking cow for them and they wanted to get as much money from the Valley as they could. They were not willing to give to the people anything in return. The foreign officers were corrupt and unsympathetic. The oppression of the rulers which the ruled bore without a murmur earned them (people) the title of Zulm parast³ (worshippers of tyranny).⁴ It is interesting to note that the Pathans, although Muslims were also against any enlightenment of the Muslims of Kashmir, and were far ahead of Sikhs and Dogras in perpetrating oppression and darkness.⁵

-
1. The nature of the Sikhs as rulers has been aptly described by Younghusband who says that the Sikhs were "rough and hard masters." Younghusband, Kashmir, p. 160. According to Lawrence "The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle". Lawrence, op. cit., p. 199.
 2. Gulam Singh (Dogra) wrote Colonel Torrens as far back as 1863 A.D., went far beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily it is true but he sucked the very lifeblood of the people. They had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth. The profits of the loom and the work of men's hands but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers. Colonel Torrens Travels in Ladakh Tartar and Kashmir, p. 301.
 3. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 5.
 4. Ibid., For the rulers of these dynasties Kashmir became a colony like Bengal for East India Company. It had to survive physical and economic lust of its ~~xxx~~ masters.

In this state of oppression, no one could expect development in the field of education which it had during the regime of native rulers. It is now for us here to determine the extent to which the shrines were able to serve the cause of education and bring about an awakening among the people. As a matter of fact shrines and khangahs had played a very important role during the Muslim period. Islam in Kashmir had spread through Khangahs and shrines. But since the time Kashmir lost freedom and non-local¹ rulers came to rule this land, education received very little attention of the rulers. However, there are references to the effect that the Pirs and Gurus were engaged in teaching the Quran and Hindu scriptures. The verses of Lal Ded and Habba-Khatun come to us as evidence of women too having received the benefit of education. Lal Ded a mystic poetess of Kashmir says in one of her shruiks:-

گورن دؤینم کئے وژن
 سے مہ لہر گو ودا کہ تر وژن

 نینبر دؤینم اندر آژن
 توئے ہیونتم ننگے نژن

(Tr. The mentor taught me the only lesson of the withdrawing into myself. That was the lesson and dictum which established direct communion between my maker and myself)

F.N. 5.

Kashmir became a part of Afghanistan and fell into wild disorder. "This rule says Lawrence, was a brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry or honour." Lawrence, op. cit., p. 197.

1. The non-local rulers would never think in terms of the betterment of local people.
2. Shiraza, Lal Ded NO: 18th Juld, November-December, 1979.

Habba Khatun said with devotion:

ماں ماجہ تراؤنس سبقتس دُورے اوخن وٹھنم مورے پان
دیتنم قرآن تھو و مس زورے کورا و رودم شورے پان ا

(Tr. The parents sent me to school where the teacher bet me black and blue. He gave me a copy of the Quran which I concealed and this way was spent my childhood)

Thus we know that Akhoon and Gour continued to be the main source of education. With the ouster of local rulers, the oppressive authorities did not pay any attention to the need for preservation of native culture and institutions. Education became a personal matter monopolised by Pir and Gour who saw to it that the only beneficiaries of their professions were their own families. This profession was almost hereditary one.^{1a} The credulous masses considered their Pirs and Gours as their friends, philosophers and guides. They (pirs) exploited them a good deal and extracted money from them². Ghulam Hassan Khan has thus rightly remarked that the real knowledge remained confined, as a rule, to a selected few families of pirs, gazis, muftis and waizeen.³

1. Sofi Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, Kashmir Maen Samaji Aur Saqafate Eabdilian, p. 52.

1a. Marasila Kashmiri Panditan, p. 34.

2. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Sofi, p. 42.

3. Ghulam Hasan Khan, op. cit., p. 7.

The Muslims during the period under survey received education, but not of that healthy kind which would bring awakening to their minds. The Muslim boys were taught to read Arabic so that they may be able to recite the verses of the Quran, but not necessarily to understand it. As there was no system of education in the Valley having for its object, either mental training or social reform,¹ The people had to content themselves what the Maulvis dished out to them. There were Makhtabs where Muslims were taught. The boys were imported parrot-like² lesson³ of the Quran and no attempt was made to improve their morals. The Muslim boys used to read Quran in the mosques⁴ which worked as makhtabs and were the only place of education. The Maulvis⁵ who used to teach in the mosques had not the proper and adequate knowledge of their religion.⁶ Consequently the people could at best learn and read just the alphabet of Arabic and Persian and sometimes commit to memory some portions and abstracts from Arabic and Persian. The teaching of Arabic and Persian grammar, Arithmetic

-
1. Kashmiri Panditan, Marasil-e-Kashmir, p. 35.
 2. Tyndale Biscoe, Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, p. 253.
L. S. S. O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p. 69.
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Hari Om, Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 19.
 5. These people were also having the mansab (assignment) of imamat.
 6. Ghulam Hassan Khan, op. cit., p. 74.

and accounts were quite neglected.¹ No doubt there were some knowledgeable people who were institutions in themselves and contributed a lot. They alone were able to produce some scholarly people. But the majority of the Maulvis never favoured the idea of spreading true religion. They for their own vested interest always wanted to keep the people in dark.² If any reform movement appeared at any time in our period of study it was greatly opposed by the Mullahs. They never thought in terms of seeing the society reformed along healthy lines. Once an, Anjumn-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namaz wa-Satri Masturat in 1923 came into being in order to fight the evil practices, the reformers were greatly opposed and criticised by the Mullahs.³ That is why the Muslims remained in a state of woeful ignorance in the early stage of Dogra period. The Mullahs and Maulvis told the people that the Christian missionaries imparting western education were the enemies of Islam. Since the Mullahs enjoyed respect and confidence of the people, their anti-missionary propaganda carried conviction with the credulous masses.

1. Marasila Kashmiri Panditan, p. 38.

2. The Mullahs did not favour the new light because they thought that it would reduce the scope of their exploitation which would result in the reduction of their income. Whatever their (Maulvis) mutual differences, they agreed on keeping the Muslims away from the light of modern education. It was their main aim to see that the Muslims remained steadfast in their old beliefs. P. N. Bazaz, Daughters of Vitasta, p. 242.

3. The Anjuman consisted the following members viz., Azad Quraishi, Hakim Muhammad Quraishi, Ghulam Muhammad Ali and others. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 74.

English language was suspected to induce idolatory¹ among them. That is why the Muslims did not send their children to government, still less to mission schools, but continued to educate them in their own indigeneous institutions, the maktabs, which otherwise had become less useful in the changed circumstances.² The Muslims were conservative in their attitude and showed enthusiasm only for religious instructions.³

The Muslims after going through the rudiments of Quran and Persian language and sentence-wise reading^{of the relevant text}, took up the Karima Nam Hag, an excellent Persian poem, which treated of morality. But as a rule the students neither recognized the letters well nor did they understand, what they learnt at the time. After Karima they atonce took up the Bostan and Gulistan. After going through about half of it, revised it with explanation in their own tongue. Next to these two books Hurkara and Sikandarnama were read, and an ordinary student ended his study with these books. Some inquisitive and interested people went beyond and read Sakinama, Sheerin Khusrau, Inshai Tahir Wahid, and a

1. Hari Om, op. cit., p. 60

2. The Hindus gained in knowledge and steadily acquired positions in the government departments. While the Muslims remained behind and were less visible in the government departments.

3. Hari Om, op. cit., p. 74.

few other books.¹ Among the means of correcting boys the severest punishment was 'falak'. It was as follows: A string was hung up in the room and to it the delinquents feet were fast tied and they were allowed to hang there with their heads suspended downward. They were kept in that position for some minutes and sometimes flogged in the bargain². Persian was preferred much by the Kashmiris. Their maqtabs syllabus mostly included the Persian texts. The Muslims preferred the mosque schools or the system of private tuition, where Arabic and Persian were taught. Lawrence says that the Muslims "can read and write Persian"³. Even now we come across some of the age-old people speak Persian very fluently though their knowledge of grammar is scant.

The Maqtabs of the city of Srinagar and of other parts in the Valley where the Muslim Ummah got education, were generally affiliated to the mosques where they were taught Arabic for reading Quran. But so far as shrines of Srinagar were concerned, there is no reference to show that the Maqtabs and Madrassas were connected to them. After taking over Kashmir, the Sikhs tried their utmost

1. Marasila-i-Kashmiri Panditan, p. 40.

2. Ibid.,
Hari Om, op. cit., p. 23.

3. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 229.

to persecute the Muslims.¹ To that end the Sikhs made the mosques and shrines² their targets as they were the citadels of Muslim faith.

Besides, some mosques like Pather Masjid, Mulla Akhoon Mosque and Khanqah-i-Madin Sahib remained closed during the period of Dogras too.³ In such a state of affairs, any developmental activity in the field of education was inconceivable. It does not, however, mean that the shrines had no role to play. The shrines which were the citadels of Muslim faith in Kashmir were visited by numerous devotees who got benefited by the preachings of the preachers. The nineteenth century A.D. and the beginning of the twentieth century A.D. was period of darkness because of the cruel attitude of the rulers.⁴ Nevertheless, Kashmir possessed preachers, Waizeen, Mubaligeen and scholars as were embodiment of

1. Mir Sayyid Mushtaq Hamadani, Kashmir Islam Kay Sayia Main, p. 105.
2. During the time of Sikhs, some new courts and departments came into being. The Muslims of Kashmir had to pay fee for Nikah and other things. Maharaja Ranjit Singh requested Mir Qazi Ghulam-ud-Din Hussaini Jami (an eminent Muslim scholar) to accept the headship of these courts and departments, but Qazi Ghulam-ud-Din refused. Thereupon, the Maharaja, who did not look with favour upon the Khanqahs and mosques, issued orders for the closure of Khanqah-i-Mualla and Jamia Masjid and turned them into stables. Allama Mufti Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, Tarikh-i-Zakhayer-ul-Muneer, p. 163.
3. Sofi, Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, op. cit., p. 149; These mosques were used as granaries (Shali-stores) and store houses for gun-powder during the period of Sikhs and Dogras.
4. It was also because of the maltreatment and oppression of their rulers and officials that the people generally were gripped in ignorance and backwardness.

many good qualities and it were they who led the Muslims of Kashmir as millat along a lively path in that period of darkness.¹ The preachers and waizeen proved most helpful in the sense that they delivered their goods in the native language--Kashmiri which was easy to understand and easily used by the students in asking questions of the teachers and in receiving answers in the same language. This method made their study more intelligible and rational too. The teaching became more motivative and impressive and naturally attracted large number of people to the mosques and shrines. We have got references that the people eagerly looked forward to the time when a good preacher had to deliver waz at any shrine. Their doubts were publicly set at rest and their questions were answered satisfactorily by the waizeen.² No doubt the maqtabs gave parrot-like education to the people and their main contribution was to infuse love and affection among the taught and inculcation of humility and respect for elders among the taught.³ This is what distinguishes the then prevalent system from the modern system of education where such virtues are seen lacking.

1. Mahanama Nasrat-ul-Islam, p. 27.

2. The preachers also discussed other social issues like bad customs and evil practices.

3. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, Aatish-i-Chinar, p. 8.

The shrines particularly Sheshbuga played an important role in imparting education. The system was non-formal as there was no age bar to the admission to the classes of sermons. There stood the eloquent preachers who addressed the kneeling multitude the message of Quran and the sayings of the Prophet. They (preachers) explained them the articles of their faith.¹ A large number of scholarly preceptors attached to the shrines took regular classes and delivered sermons. Sometimes preachers from outside the Valley came to give discourses on various aspects of religion at the important shrines² of Kashmir.

The preachers mostly believed and had complete faith in shrines. They spoke against the people who were indifferent towards the sanctity of the shrines. Ibn-i-Saud and his followers were vehemently criticised and abused in the exciting and passionate lectures by the preachers at mosques and shrines for the alleged destruction of the mausoleum of Hazrat Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) by them, (Ibn-i-Saud and his followers). They were styled as Wahabbi kute and Shaitan ke seeng.³ The shrines became the centres for mobilising the people against the Wahabbis. The preachers generated hatred against the Wahabbis among the people.

-
1. Sinha, Kashmir, the Playground of Asia, pp. 188--189.
 2. File NO: 584/P-7 of 1922, General Department Jammu Archives.
 3. Ibid.,

The main role in imparting education in the shrines and mosques was played by the Mirwaiz dynasty. They made the shrines and mosques particularly Jamia Masjid as centre for preaching the Quran and Haidth.¹ It appears that the ancestors of Mirwaiz dynasty were initially residing at Tral. For certain reasons Salam Baba alias Sala Baba left Tral for good and settled at Qalamdanpora in Srinagar.² They then shifted from Qalamdanpora to Razia-kadal. Salam Baba had a spiritual bent of mind and as such he spent his whole life in worship and acts of piety. He died at Qalamdanpora.³ He was survived by five sons. One of them named Lassa Baba received religious education alongwith a co-student named Sayyid Hasan Shah Gilani under the supervision of Syeed Buzerg Shah, from Qazi Mir Muhammad Rasool Hussaini Jami.⁴ He also received training from Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali who selected him for the job of preaching.⁵ Lassa Baba became famous in the sphere of Ilm-i-Din (theology). He was the first among the Mirwaiz dynasty to start Waizkhwani (preaching). This job he did with great ability and dedication. Thus Lassa Baba came to be called Mirwaiz.

-
1. Anjuman-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, Khasusi Shumara, 1981, pp. 27-28.
op.cit.,
 2. Muhammad Din Fauq; Vol. I, pp. 391-392.
 3. Muhammad Din Fauq, op. cit., p. 392.
 4. Mufti Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op. cit., p. 156.
 5. Ibid.,

He, throughout his life, gave sermons and explained the real spirit of Islam to the Muslims.¹ He explained to and discussed before the Muslim Ummah the Quran and Hadith, and to that end he delivered sermons. Apart from this he imparted education to the people. He became famous as an eminent preacher in the Valley and earned for himself the title of Namdar Waiz.²

The conditions of Muslim Ummah during the period under study was far from satisfactory. No doubt, the Muslims had embraced Islam long before our period of study but the age-old customs and traditions were ingrained in them. The customs and traditions of Hindus and Muslims had intermingled and the true spirit of Islam had been overshadowed. The Muslims had come to have absolute faith in saints and were prepared to make sacrifice in their name and they voluntarily paid Nazr-u-Niyaz in Brahman tradition.

The Muslims performed such practices as were unislamic in character. The Muslim children like non-Muslim children, were permitted to grow Shikha on the crown of their heads and it was shaved off on a particular day with great celebration.³

1. Tarikh-i-Kabir, f. 281b.

2. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 481.
Tarikh-i-Kabir, f. 281b.

3. Ibid., p. 431.

There was no such institution as would enlighten the people about the principles of Islam. However, the preachers and waizeen used to give sermons on Islamic theology on particular days viz., Fridays and other holy days at the shrines¹ in order to make the people understand Islam. The sermons, doubtlessly, helped the people to understand the reality. In fact it was due to the sermons of Hafiz Lassa Baba that the custom of having Shikha on the crown of the heads of Muslim children was put an end to.²

Subsequently, the Mirwaiz dynasty was split into two branches³ and their followers also got divided into two groups. It was during the time of Chaudhury Khushi Muhammad Nazr (Governor) that due to certain differences among the members of the Mirwaiz dynasty, that orders were issued wherein Jamia Masjid was handed over to Lassa Baba and his followers who subsequently concentrated

-
1. It is a matter of common knowledge that most of these shrines have been constructed in memory of one or the other pious and holy man. On the auspicious occasion of the birth and death anniversaries of these holy people, the Mubaligeen used to give sermons on the teachings, life history and achievements of the holy men in the light of Islam.
 2. Muhammad ud-Din Fauq, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 431.
 3. It ~~was~~ is said that Shia Muslims wanted to construct a mosque outside the tomb of Madin Sahib. But Salam Baba son of Naba Baba objected to it and the Sunnis under the instructions of Salam Baba destroyed the walls of the mosque. This ultimately led to Shia-Sunni conflict. The Shias who were fewer in number than Sunnis were supported by Wazir Panu (during the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh). This ultimately led Sunnis to counter a number of difficulties. Salam Baba was banished but soon after the restoration of peace, he was permitted to come back. He died in Jamadi-us-Sani, 1300 A.H. and was buried in the compound of Khanqah-i-Mualla. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op. cit., p. 169.

their activities of Waizkhani at Jamia Masjid. This group of Maulvis came to be known as Mirwaiz Kalan. The other group led by Sala Baba was given Khanqah-i-Maula which became the centre of their activities which centred mainly around preaching. This line came to be called Hamadani Maulvis.¹ However, it should be mentioned here that the two groups of Waizeen, referred to above, were at daggers drawn. At first when they lived jointly, they used to visit the shrines and mosques in any part of the Valley for giving sermons. But once divided there arose between the two branches of the same dynasty tensions and unrest on the question of Waizkhani at different religious places. This created law and order problem many a time during our period of study. At last Maharaja Pratap Singh made regular arrangements for Waizkhani in the mosques in order to put a stop to the growth of malice, leading to tension and conflict between the two parties at that time.² There seems to have been some divergence in the ideology of two groups of waizeen of Srinagar, viz., Mir Waiz Jamia Masjid and Mirwaiz Hamadani. For example the reciting of Shain allah and celebration of giyarhwin were favoured by Hamadani Maulvis, but Mirwaiz Kalan of Jamia Masjid,

1. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 392.

2. File NO: 199 year 1936 Jamia Archives; Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 392.

opposed it tooth and nail. It means that they did not hold unanimous views on the issue.¹ In 1317 A.H., a conflict arose between the two religious chiefs over the question of the Sahabiyat of Mamur-i-Habshi², in which Ahl-i-Hadith, though small in number, took the side of Mirwaiz Jamia Masjid. Mirwaiz Hamadani was of the firm belief about the Sahabiyat of Mamur-i-Habshi. While Mirwaiz Jamia Masjid denied the claim which in turn gave rise to a good deal of trouble in the city of Srinagar.³ Finally a meeting of both the religious heads was held at the residence of Mirza Mohi-ud-Din where it was agreed by both not to give much importance to the issue of the Sahabiyat of Mamur-i-Habshi.⁴

1. Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah was much vehement in his criticism against its recitation and often used derogatory language against mujavirs of shrines under whose guidance such practices had become common among the ignorant masses.

2. It is said that Mamur-i-Habshi was one amongst the companions of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and some Sufis believed that he died seven hundred years after the demise of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.).

Abdul Hasan Nur-ud-Din, Hadiyat-ul-Ashab-fi-Rad-ul-Kazab, pp. 3-4.

3. Tarikh-i-Kabir, f. 149.

4. Ibid., f. 150a.

The Ahl-i-Hadith did not keep silent on the issue of Mamur-i-Habshi. They challenged the very existence of Mamur-i-Habshi and believed that after the demise of Prophet (p.b.u.h.), the only companion who had a very long life was Abu Tufa'l Aamir, who was more than hundred years old at the time of his death. Abdul Hasan Nur-ud-Din, op. cit., p. 3.

The Hamadani Maulvis, belonging to the Barelvi school of thought believed in shrines. Mubarak Baba, son of Naba Baba, got training from Maulana Mir Amir-ud-Din Jami and started preaching sermons at Khanqah-i-Mualla and other mosques and shrines allotted to them. He explained the Quran and Hadith to the people which benefited a large number of them.¹ The first group of Maulvis who occupied Jamia Masjid for purpose of sermons greatly opposed the Mullahs and the Pirs² (the worldly ulama) as they were a great threat to Islam. As a matter of fact the number of worldly ulama (those Pirs who pursued mainly mundane interests) was indeed very large. This fact becomes clear from the remarks of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, popularly known in Kashmir as Alamdar-i-Kashmir. This celebrated saint of Rishi movement says, "hardly one amongst the thousand will be saved from the wrath of God".³

(We get a detailed account about the worldly ulama from the sayings of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din which reflect the selfish, hypocritical conceited and ambitious selves of the Ulama. The Shaikh has vehemently criticised and exposed them to the posterity.

1. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op. cit., p. 169.

2. When Ahl-i-Hadith filed a case against the Pirs and Mullahs, the Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid remained neutral. Mirwaiz Ahmad ~~Shah~~ Ullah, Ahl-i-Hadith Kai Nisbat, pp. 1--3.

3. Moti Lal Saqi, Kulliyat-i-Shaikh-ul-Alam, p. 118.

The Ulama were parasites and drones on the society. They lived a life of luxury without contributing anything to the society. They put on big turbans and went from place to place bargaining their prayers and fasts in return for food.¹ The nature and activities of these Mullahs have undergone no change since the time of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din. Instead of being guardians and interpreters of Muslim law, they became its worst destroyers. They acquired the knowledge of Islam only to obtain their living and other objects of the world. They exploited the ignorant and simple masses in order to have complete hold on them. Once an Anjuman (organization) criticised these people (Mullahs) for their activities. The Mullahs in their typical manner succeeded in arousing the passion among the ignorant masses against the activists of the reform movement who were criticised and nicknamed as yezair pirs² and thus the Anjuman fizzled out.³ The reformers wanted the Muslims to follow the principles of Islam in practical sense of the term. It is very important to note about the pirs that atleast some of them were an institution in themselves, and they performed true service to the cause of Islam. They led the

-
1. Ibid., Similarly many other knowledgeable people criticised the role of Mullahs i.e. worldly Ulama (Ulama Sue) as is evident from the journal Al-Aitqad. To name few illuminaries are Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, Maulana Rumi, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, Khwaja Hasan Basri, Wali-Ullah Dehlavi, Mujadid-i-Alfisan and others. Al-Aitqad, December, 1985, p. 3.
 2. Yezar in Kashmiri means pyjamas (trousers). Since the inception of the movement, reformers stressed the propriety of wearing pyjamas, they came to be called Yezar pirs. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 75.
 3. Ibid.,

people along the path of spiritualism, manliness and piety. Indeed they had a large following. So far as the real pirs were concerned, the Muslim community of Kashmir is and shall be indebted to them for all times. Names of Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali¹; Shaikh Khalil Ahmad Gratabali, Qazi Mir Amir-ud-Din Jami², Qazi Ghulam-ud-Din Jami³, Qazi Nizam-ud-Din Jami⁴, Allama Qazi Rasool Jami⁵ and Maulvi Mohi-ud-Din Mattoo were the shining stars in the recent past.

But after the death of good and scholarly pirs the way of electing or selecting a suitable successor was not followed. As a result, the institution became hereditary. Son succeeded his father whether or not he was qualified for the post. They degenerated the institution and some of them not having any qualification employed fraud and deceit. They never wanted to get education and

1. The first two preachers of Mirwaiz dynasty namely Lassa Baba and Yehayah Sahib received training from Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali. Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op. cit., pp. 163--172.
2. A large number of people namely Shaikh Muhammad Saiyid Tarabali Saif-ud-Din Manteki, Waiz Yehaya Khalil Trumboo, Ghulam Nabi Shafi and others received education from Qazi Mir Amir-ud-Din Jami. Ibid., pp. 159--60.
3. He taught many people like Mohi-ud-Din Gundroo, Hafiz Yehaya Bayu, Waiz Salam Baya, Maulvi Habib Ullah Mattoo and others. They became great scholars. Ibid., pp. 168, 170, 172, 173.
4. He also taught a number of people. Ibid., pp. 154--157, 167.
5. Ibid.,

enlightenment lest they (pirs) should be exposed. The Mirwaiz Maulvis particularly Maulvi Muhammad Yehaya vehemently criticised these pirs¹ of Srinagar who bargained religion for their interests. Maulvi Muhammad Yehaya criticised the mujavirs of the shrines through his sermons, as their activities were detrimental to the Ummah and ran counter to the message of pristine Islam and the teachings of the pious saints. Maulvi Muhammad Yehaya gave sermons at important shrines and mosques particularly Jamia Masjid for forty eight years.² He visited different parts of the city to deliver lessons on Quran and Hadith. Besides preaching at various shrines and mosques he used to teach different type of students within the premises of his house.³ It may not be out of place to mention here that the preachers were having their vested interests. The rivalry among the two major groups of waizeen testifies to the fact that they exploited the people and generated, sometimes intensified, unreward situations. This was evidently a course quite

1. There were certain causes for this criticism. The pirs were great obstacles in the way of spreading Islam. They did not hesitate to give false futwas (decrees). Secondly the Mirwaiz kalan were having their own interests. As a matter of fact Mirwaiz dynasty did not basically belong to the city of Srinagar and its members did not have their own murids in the beginning. That is why they criticised and exposed the pirs in order to gain the support of simple-minded common masses. Thirdly the Hamadani Maulvis patronised the pirs and had faith in shrines. Naturally the pirs became the great opponents of Mirwaiz dynasty. This became clear in a conflict between Maulvi Yusuf Shah and Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, the pirs and mujavirs opposed their long standing enemy and supported the Shaikh.

2. Allama Mufti Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op. cit., p. 172.
Muhammad-Din-Fauq, op. cit., p. 432.

3. Muhammad-Din-Fauq, op. cit., p. 432.

in conflict with Quran and Hadith. Besides, the Maulvis tried to be in the good books of the Maharajas and always tried to gain their good-will. Maharaja Ranbir Singh used to give khilats like Jora, Shawl, Gown, Fard and other things to the Ulama on the auspicious occasion of Idd.¹ The Maulvis were paid by the people too in lieu of their services. The services rendered by them included giving sermons at shrines on some particular days like Shab-i-Mehraj, Shab-i-Qadr, Idd-i-Milad and on the occasions of birth and death anniversaries of popular saints in Kashmir.

However, the Mirwaiz dynasty produced a dynamic personality namely Rasool Shah who made the Quran and the Hadith popular among the people and explained to the people of Kashmir the religion of Islam at grass root level. He made it clear that salvation from sins and wrath of hell is impossible without impetus implementation and practicality of Quran. Maulvi Rasool Shah not only gave sermons in the mosques and shrines of Srinagar but also visited other places like Islamabad, Sopore, Baramulla, Bijbehara, Shopian, and other towns and villages in order to make the people understand the teachings of Islam. It should suffice to say here

1. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 432.

that Mullahs, Pirs and other vested interests had preached Islam in a twisted manner. This had misled the people and fostered in them superstitions and encouraged bad customs and evil practices. Maulvi Rasool Shah sharply reacted to all this and he took pains to eradicate the evils. He laid great stress on truth in Islam, while teaching Quran and Hadith. He never concealed anything relevant to Islam.¹ He felt extremely hurt at the ignorance of the people and strongly felt that unless illiteracy was put an end to, the evils would continue. He made it very plain that education was the panacea to all evils. He advocated the spread of ilm (knowledge) as the sure means of fighting illiteracy and ignorance.² The most important thing that seems to have motivated Rasool Shah was social, economic and educational backwardness of the people living in different parts of the Valley which he had himself visited and seen.

It is very relevant to note here that it was the time of hatred and anger. The Muslims had lost the rule. Britishers had come to India first as merchants and then grabbed the political power. They had their own way of doing things. They had their own educational system, administrative set up and civilization which were diametrically opposed to that of Indian Muslims and Hindus alike. The Britishers wanted to spread modern education in their own interests. It was opposed by the Hindus. But people like Raja Ram Mohan Roy started a campaign among the Hindus to take to the

1. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Pandani, op.cit., p. 172.

2. Muhammad-Din-Fauq, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 432.

modern education which would ultimately be in their interest. He succeeded in this mission. The Muslims were more angry with the British because the latter had deprived them of their power. Consequently, the Muslims lagged behind in the process of modernisation which caused them great loss.¹ Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan realized this lapse on the part of Muslims. He started a crusade for the spread of modern education among the Muslims. After many difficulties and hardships he was successful in moulding the attitude of the Muslims of India towards modern education. The Muslim University of Aligarh is still a reminder of his great work.

Kashmir had exactly the same problem. Unqualified and semi-literate Mullahs opposed modern education and catigated all those who took to it as kafirs and infidels.² It goes to the credit of Mirwaiz Rasool Shah who foresaw what was coming. His farsightedness led him to contribute not only through non-formal way of education but he formally started imparting education with modern trends. In spite of being a Mullah himself, he advocated the cause of modern education³ with a view to

1. Sir Saiyid-i-Kashmir, p. 1.

2. Y. B. Mathur, Growth of Muslim Politics in India, p. 36.

3. Nusrat-ul-Islam, pp. 50--51.

pulling the Ummah out of the deep slumber. At the end of the nineteenth century, the community was at its nadir. Rasool Shah, endowed with a keen foresight and deep sence of patriotism, brought home to the people the advantages that would accrue to them by encouraging the youth of the community to receive modern education. Sincerity of motive coupled with gift of the gab and untiring efforts on the part of this reformer evoked a favourable response among the people and all this enabled Maulvi Rasool Shah to found the Anjuman-i-Nasratul-Islam¹ in 1899 together with a school under the direct supervision of the Anjuman. The school was established with the following aims in view.²

1. Minute Book First-Preserved in the Library of Anjuman-i-Nusratul-Islam. However, it should be remembered that on 30th September, 1906 the formal nomination and selection for the different posts, executive committee members was made. Mirwaiz Rasool Shah was unanimously selected as President of the Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam. The other officiating body constituted the following personalities:-

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Khwaja Hassan Shah Naqshbandi | -- Naib Sadar Awal |
| 2. Khawja Muhammad Shah Naqashbandi | --- Naib Sadar Second |
| 3. Maulvi Atiq-Ullah | --- General Secretary |
| 4. Munshi Kamal Mir | --- Joint Secretary |
| 5. Maulvi Ahmad-Ullah | --- Financial Secretary |
| 6. Munshi Sarif Ali Khan | --- Joint Financial Secretary |
| 7. Shaikh Muhammad Hussain | --- Accountant |
| 8. Khawaja Aziz-ud-Din Kovosa | --- Examiner |
| 9. Malik Sher Muhammad | --- Secretary Nazim-i-Taleem. |

The executive body was also formed which consisted of thirty four members. Minutes Book NO: 1.

2. Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam, pp. 6--7.

1. To impart Islamic education and equip the new generation with the knowledge relevant to the contemporary times;
2. To impart teaching in Quran and Hadith and propagate their teachings;
3. To guide people in cultural, economic, social and moral affairs;
4. To project the character of the Muslims reflecting the value system of Islam;
5. To strike balance between modern education and religion;
6. To develop the concept of unity and co-operation among the Muslims; and
7. To strengthen human bonds alongside the promotion of spiritual and ethical sentiments.

The institution marked its beginning like all philanthropic organizations. One has not only to realise the foresight of this greatman who visualised the needs of his community almost a century ago. Such people are rare. He not only brought the change in traditional education imparted in Madrassas and Magtaps by pirs but also made it clear that English education was a key, with which the doors to government posts would be opened. It would not be an exaggeration if we say that Maulvi Rasool Shah did the same job as was done by Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others. It is because of his contribution that he came to be called as Sir Saiyid of Kashmir.¹ Perseverance of

1. Muhammad-ud-Din-Fauq, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 433. The annual meeting of the Anjumn was held every year. It was in 1908 that Gh. Ahmad Mehjoor while reading his lengthy nazm twenty two verses highlighted in entirety the achievements of Maulvi Rasool Shah. He called him the Sir Saiyid of Kashmir. Shiraza, 1984, p. 61. He is also known as Wayeer-i-Azam in Kashmir.

the founder and willing co-operation of masses resulted in raising the status of the institution to that of High School by 1905 A.D.

Admission to the school from the very beginning was kept open without levying any tuition fee on the poor students irrespective of caste, creed or sex.¹ The first batch of six students appeared from the school in the Matriculation examination of the Punjab University in 1908 A.D. Of these five came out successful. Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai² (a Muslim) stood first and Pandit Sarwanand (Kashmiri Pandit) secured second position.³ The institution produced scholars, academicians, administrators and intellectuals. Maulvi Rasool Shah inaugurated a new era in the life of Kashmiri Muslims and infused fresh spirit and blood into the Muslims of the Valley. The aim of his mission was to take the Muslims out of darkness and gloom, into light and glory. He spent his whole life in working for the welfare and betterment of the Muslim community.

-
1. The non-muslims were not discriminated against in matter of admission of students or appointment of teachers. Thus among the students admission was granted to Sarwanand Koul, a Kashmiri Pandit boy while Pandit Kesho Nath Tickoo, *another Kashmiri* Pandit of Bagh Jogi Lanker (Rainawari) was appointed Mathematics teacher in the school.
 2. He became the first Registrar of the University of Kashmir.
 3. Minute Book First. Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam.

Maulvi Rasool Shah contributed a lot through his sermons. In Kashmir the art of waizkhwani was institutionalized by Maulvi Yehaya Sahib. But Maulvi Rasool Shah through his natural ability and farsightedness lent a new hue to the art of wazkhwani. Many more people who were mostly umi (illiterate) got acquainted with the teaching of Quran and Hadith by attending the sermons of Maulvi Rasool Shah.¹

It is said that one among the listeners of Maulvi Rasool Shah, who was quite illiterate, fell in a discussion with a well qualified student of Deoband. The latter was so much impressed by the vastness of knowledge and other information of the former that the Deoband scholar asked the illiterate person to show him his kutb-khana (Library). But the illiterate yet well informed gentleman had no library. He had acquired all the knowledge (preaching sessions) and information by attending regularly waz Majalis of Maulvi Rasool Shah. When the Deoband trained scholar came to know about it, he felt humbled and he acknowledged the worth of the illiterate man for his profound knowledge of religion and inevitably he came to have profound respect for Maulvi Rasool Shah, the mentor of the educated illiterate person.²

1. Anjumn-i-Nusratul Islam, Khususi Shumara, p. 48.

2. Anjumn-i-Nusratul Islam, Khususi Shumara, p. 50.

In fact Maulvi Rasool Shah through his preaching and teaching made the Quran-i-Karim so popular among the Muslims that every Muslim believed that without Quranic knowledge nobody deserved salvation. Fifty years earlier a pedestrian on the street any morning would be delighted to listen to the loud recitation of Quran (Tilavat-i-Quran) by boys and girls both.¹ The waz ceremony had great impact on the Muslim community of Kashmir. Most of the Umi Muslims committed to memory many important suras (chapters) of Quran together with their meaning, so much so that most of them became preachers.² One important feature in the waizkhwani of the Mirwaiz dynasty was the consecutive interpretation and explanation of a Sura for years together. This sequence and order helped the listeners to memorize the teachings. They, while explaining Quran made full use of the sayings of Prophet (p.b.u.h.) and enlightened the Muslim community with the glorious history of Islam and thereby interpreted origin and growth of Islam.³ The main chapters of waizkhwani were the life history and achievements of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) The Caliphate period was also an important subject of waizkhwani during our period of study. The preachers discussed in detail the happening of Karbala

1. Ibid., p. 48.

2. Master Muhammad Maqbool, Wazeer-i-Azam, p. 12.

3. Master Muhammad Maqbool, Wazeer-i-Azam, p. 13.

observed by the Muslims of Kashmir. The influence of the Maulvi was felt by audience when he interpreted to them, the first ayat of Sura Tahrim:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ لِمَ تُحَرِّمُ مَا أَحَلَّ اللَّهُ لَكَ ۚ

"Prophet; why Holdest them to be forbidden that which God has made law to thee"¹.

It was under the impact of Maulvi Rasool Shah's sermons that Muslims children got acquainted with the basic principles of Islam. Anybody who was ignorant of it, was not shown proper respect by the Muslim Society.² However, after the demise of Rasool Shah Sahib, Maulvi Ahmad Ullah continued the practice of giving the sermons. He too wanted to make the teachings of Quran and Hadith common among the Muslims of Kashmir.

Maulvi Rasool Shah was President of the Anjumn-i-Nusratul Islam from 1909 to 1931 A.D. His brother, Maulvi Atiq-Ullah was the Secretary of this organization. Maulvi Ahmad-Ullah, like his

1. The Glorious Quran, Para 28th, ayat-first.

2. Anjuman-i-Nusratul Islam, Khususi Shumara, p. 48.

ancestors considered education as the enemy of ignorance.¹
 The Hamadani Maulvis also continued their work of waizkhwani at (Khanqah-Mualla) in order to bring awareness among the Muslim Ummah of Kashmir. The prominent among them was Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Hamadani, who, besides giving sermons founded a middle school annexed to Khanqah-i-Mualla.² In this school Arabic and Persian were taught and this apart, modern education was imparted too. Obviously, the aim was to equip the Muslims with the knowledge as demanded by changing circumstances.

During the period that followed, the Maulvis lost their enthusiasm and in the practice of preaching they deviated from the original course so that preaching became completely a business. The shrines became an important business centres with people as donors and the Maulvis as mobile sellers. The mujavirs became the expert accountants. The Islamia School was founded to cater to the educational requirements of the Muslims in the period of darkness, when it was very difficult to do so. But with the

1. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 434.

Though Maulvi Ahmad Ullah continued to keep the torch of education burning, but his successors did nothing to take it (Islamia High School) any further. It is a painful truth that the Anjunn and the school became the personal property of Mirwaiz dynasty, and today it is a one man show. Had the successors of Maulvi Rasool Shah been as farsighted as he was, the institution by now would have become a University.

2. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 437.

passage of time even in favourable conditions, the school management simply used it as a source of income for themselves. Had they advanced the aim of its founder (Rasool Shah) it would have become an important source of Muslim learning.

From the above discussion we are led to the conclusion that the contribution of these shrines and mosques is that they kept the lamp of knowledge burning and the interest of people to acquire some sort of knowledge did not all together flag. That contribution has a place in the educational history of Kashmir and cannot be forgotten. Likewise, to the temples of Hindus, were attached pathshalas, which imparted religious education to the Hindus. The need for such institutions was always felt because in modern schools there was no arrangement for imparting religious education to the students. Thus the shrines, mosques and temples were the hubs of educational system and the people of Kashmir neither Hindus nor Muslims could ignore the importance of these.

CHAPTER -- 5TH

POLITICAL IMPACT OF SHRINES:

Peoples unbounded faith in shrines drew them in large numbers to these ziarats day in and day out, but more particularly on festive occasions. As a result, the shrines became the centres for bringing together and integrating the people coming from different parts of the Valley. The exchange of views among the people at shrines gave them an awareness of their problems which were not only religious but social, economic and sometimes political too. The coming together of the people from different parts cemented the social bonds among them.¹

The activities of saints and mashaikh² also contributed towards strengthening the social relationships to a fairly good extent. Apart from delivering religious sermons and guiding the people along the spiritual course, the mashaikh influenced the general life of people too. Mashaikh settled the disputes of various groups according to the Islamic law (shariat). They would cool down the harsh temper of the young by their advise and thus

1. M. I. Khan, op. cit., p. 103.

2. Shaikh Ahmad Tarabali, Moulvi Rasool Shah, Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah, Agha Saiyid Ahmad Mousavi and others not only educated the people but they also settled the disputes of the people and often corrected their social behaviour.

inculcate in them spirit of obedience and sense of respect towards parents and elders. They would not hesitate in issuing timely warnings to the kings and advising them whenever they thought it necessary to do so.¹ The authorities approached mashaig and sought their help in the settlement of public issues. Again when a court or any government body would decide any issue against a person, the victim would approach a saint for justice. The mashaikh would sometimes decide the case even against the legal verdict for maintaining the supremacy of the shariat.²

In course of time the shrines provided the much needed opportunity to the people to give vent to their political ideas and eventually some of the shrines and mosques like Khanqah-i-Mualla and Jamia Masjid became centres of political activity. The people considered the shrines and mosques to be the appropriate places for expression of their feelings of oppression and tyranny which they were subjected to. The congregation of people

-
1. ~~XXXXXX~~ Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani demonstrated true Islam, the Islam preached and practised by the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din both by precept and example. Thus it was at the instruction of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani that Sultan Qutb-ud-Din divorced one among the two real sisters whom he had married. R.K. Parmu, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, pp. 104--105. Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din Unri, Tehqiqat-i-Islamic, p.112.
 2. Agha Saiyid Yusuf Mousvi al-Safvi, the Chief religious ~~ex~~ head of Shia community of Kashmir, in keeping with the shariat, issued a verdict against the decision of the government on the question of land to tillers. The shiite followers of the Agha Sahib resorted to the conventional practice of giving full share to erstwhile landholders who by the government law had been deprived of a large portion of their share.

from various parts of the Valley and from almost all walks of life tended to give mass orientation¹ to public protests against the misrule of the autocrats. As a matter of fact, Itqad Khan's governorship of Kashmir (1622--1632) during the Mughal period marked one of the most oppressive and marked cruel periods in the history of Kashmir.² He caused much distress to the people of Kashmir by his oppressive taxes and autocratic rule. He did not even allow the owners of the gardens to use the fruits themselves.³ Shahjahan, as he came to know of the misrule of Itiqad Khan, not only dismissed him but in order to gain the good will of the people inaugurated the new regime of peace, prosperity and tranquility in Kashmir.⁴ He, in order to streamline and popularise his activities wanted the new programmes and facilities to reach the public of different corners of the Valley. He too felt the importance of the shrines and mosques in this connection. In order to strengthen his political power and gaining

-
1. The Sikh rulers of Kashmir closed down many places of worship of the Muslims. They did so only because, they considered these places as a threat and menace to their power. They even prohibited the recitation of Azan (call of prayers). G. M. D. Sufi, Kashmir, Vol. II, p. 726.
 2. R. K. Parmu, op. cit., p. 312.
 3. Ibid.,
 4. Ibid.,

the goodwill of the people, ordered that the new regulations farman (imperial command) be inscribed on a stone-slab to be fixed on the gate of Jamia Masjid.¹ Jamia Masjid being the most frequented place fulfilled the political need of the ruler. The imperial farman proclaimed that the autocratic and oppressive rule of Itiqad Khan had ceased and the emperor demanded implicit and ungrudging obedience of all government officials to the new regulations.² Later during the 19th century under the rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the people stood against the tax imposed on shawl weavers by the Dagshala Department of the State. The shawl weavers of Kashmir gathered in the Khanqah-i-Mualla and raised their voice against the tax impositions.³ It was from Khanqah-i-Mualla that the people carried out a procession and raised slogans against Diwan Kirpa Ram.⁴ The demonstrators reached

-
1. Jamia Masjid one among the prominent religious places in Kashmir was considered fit and appropriate for having the farman inscribed at the gate so that the general masses and future rulers should know it. R. K. Parmu, op. cit., p. 313.
 2. Ibid., The farman has tremendous historical importance. It sheds light on the unsympathetic, greedy, unscrupulous and parochial rule of governors of Kashmir like Itiqad Khan. It highlights the close personal interest and decisive action of Shahjahan for establishing good, peaceful and stable administration. The farman is still extant at the southern gate of Jamia Masjid.
 3. Mir Mushtaq Ahmad Hamadani, op. cit., p. 122.
 4. Dewan Kripa Ram was Madar-ul-Maham (Chief-Minister) of the state.

Katakul where they burst into a revolt against excesses of the government.¹ Jamia Masjid too played a major role in arousing the popular dissent against oppression.

The political importance of Jamia Masjid had occasionally posed a threat to ruling classes. The Sikhs closed its gates in order to stop the political activities that took place at Jamia Masjid. The political impact of Jamia Masjid can be observed from the fact that early Dogras tried to restrain the political activities at Jamia Masjid which they apprehended to constitute a threat to their self-willed rule. They in order to get their aim fulfilled shifted the Jamia Masjid market to Mahrajgunj in order to reduce its importance. But with the passage of some time, the Jamia Masjid Bazar grew in dimension and glamour. Maharaja Partab Singh gained respectable position among the people of Kashmir. This can be mostly attributed to the fact that he paid considerable attention towards the construction of religious places particularly Jamia Masjid.²

The simplicity, purity and spiritual attainments of saints and sadats have greatly impressed the people of Kashmir. The people looked upon these shrines as centres of solace and redemption from misery and suffering. No wonder, therefore, that

1. Mir Mushtaq Hamadani, op. cit., p. 122.

2. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op. cit., f. 62a.

3. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p. 381.

these shrines atleast the most prominent among them became the citadels of their political aspirations and unrest.¹

Atta Muhammad Khan, a Pathan Governor struck coins in the name of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din² and Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom (1223-1225 A.H./ 1808-1810 A.D.). This was done mainly to gain the support of masses devoted to these two celebrated saints of Kashmir.

The Kashmiris ever since the loss of freedom suffered a lot at the hands of foreign rulers. Therefore, Kashmir could not make any proper educational headway which could have aroused the people from slumbering state of affairs. Thus the lack of education pushed back the chances of Kashmiris becoming aware and conscious of their problems and as such struggle for freedom at that stage seemed inconceivable.

However, the shrines and mosques played very important role in bringing about the political consciousness among the masses. The preachers and waizeen not only highlighted and explained Islam alone but threw a flood of light on the day-to-day problems of the people. Thus it was due to the blessings of

-
1. Khanqah-i-Mulla and Jamia Masjid, the two among Sheshbuga were destined to play a dominant role in the political life of Kashmir in years to come.
 2. G. M. D. Sufi, op. cit., p. 101.

some of the prominent personalities that the last decade of the 19th century in Kashmir witnessed the birth and growth of socio--religious reform and political movements which ultimately brought about a revolution in the thought and life of the people.¹

The architects of this revolution were influenced by similar movements in British India whose aim was to lift up the Indian society from the abyss of superstition and stagnation. The members of both the communities of Muslims and non-Muslims were responsible for these movements in the state. It were, however, the latter who took the lead. The non-Muslim reformers met with opposition from various orthodox sections and traditionalists. It was only during the second decade of 20th century that they were able to make a little headway under the banner of the Arya Samaj and its subsidiary organization of the Kumar Sabha. The most important man in this organization from the Valley itself was Pandit Tarachand² of the village Giru now called Noorpora (now within Pulwama district).

Meanwhile the Anjumn Nusrat-ul-Islam was carrying forward its work of education and reform. The movements among both the communities ultimately paved the way for political awakening in the state. In this process of awakening the shrines and the

1. G. H. Khan, Freedom Movement in Kashmir, p. 49.
2. Pandit Tarachand because of his popularity came to be called as Kashyap Bandhu.

waizeen contributed directly or indirectly towards the growth of consciousness and freedom struggle among Muslims. The fundamental aim of the early Muslim socio-religious reform movements was to acquaint the Muslim masses with the cause of their stagnation which had led to their backwardness under the unsympathetic rule of autocratic monarchs.¹

However, the first organisation to initiate reforms among the Muslims was Anjumn-Nusrat-ul-Islam founded by Mir Waiz-Moulvi Rasool Shah. The picture of backwardness of Muslims seems to have compelled the Moulvi to launch this massive movement of reform which finally led to the growth of awareness among the people. He first emphasized the advantages of English education. This, he felt, would open to the people the gates to government services.² The struggle for securing both civil and semi-political rights to the Muslims formed an important part of the mission of the Anjumn-i-Nasrat-ul-Islam after the First World War.³ By that time the Anjumn had successfully widened its wings over a considerable area in the field of Muslim education.

1. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 60.

2. See Supra, p. 289

3. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 65.

The Nusrat-ul-Islam had produced tolerably good number of students who were expected to play their role in the task of development and welfare of the Muslim community.¹ The Leader of the Anjunn addressed themselves to the task of taking up with the government the issues like provision of educational facilities for the Muslims of Kashmir; representation of the Muslims in government services; to settle the disputes over the religious places; to secure the freedom of Muslim religious places; to obtain due share to the Muslims in the law-making body of the state and to eradicate the poverty of Muslims.² The role of Anjunn leaders was always methodical, constitutional and moderate. The main cause of the success of the Anjunn leaders was that they started preaching from the mosques and shrines^{2a},

This mode of activity enabled the leaders to mobilise the people; make them aware of their problems and to press their demands. They adopted the method of deputation, passing resolutions and convening public meetings. Thus on June 3, 1922, a meeting of Anjunn leaders was held at the Islamia High School where it was decided that the deputation should be sent to Raja Sahib (Sir Hari Singh) for a discussion on the demands and rights of the Muslims.³ Another deputation was sent to meet the Minister Incharge

1. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, the first batch students of Nusrat-ul-Islam became the freedom fighter who played an important role as a front rank leader.

2. G.H. Khan, op. cit., p. 66.

2a. Ibid.,

3. Ibid.,

of Education on June 19, 1922. This deputation raised many problems and several issues were discussed at length by the deputationists with the Minister concerned. The main subjects discussed at the meeting were:-

Muslim Education;
 Deficiency of Muslim teachers in the Department of Education;
 Primary and compulsory education;
 Lack of Muslim representation in Municipal offices; and
 In the Department of press and stationary and various other Departments¹

The Executive Committee of the Anjunn met on August 30, 1922 and passed the following resolutions²:-

First, that a list be prepared of all educated Muslims serving in the government offices showing the number of those superseded by non-Muslims. The list was sent to the government. Second, a representation in the form of an application be sent to the Maharaja wherein the mention be made of grievances of the Muslims on the following subject:-

1. Lack of facility in education;
2. Lack of representation in government services;
3. Release of mosques under the possession of the government;
4. Abolition of Begar; and
5. Demand sufficient share in the law-making body of the state.

1. Ibid.,

2. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 66.

In the light of the above resolutions, a memorial of demands was sent to the Maharaja. But no action was taken on it. On May 28, 1923, a deputation consisting of Munshi Assadullah, Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah Shah and his brother Moulvi Atiq-Ullah Shah met, through the good offices of Khan Sahib Siraj-ud-Din, the Resident of Kashmir and discussed with him many of these problems.¹

Meanwhile the Muslim shrines tried to bring the Muslim masses of Kashmir in line with the Muslims of the sub-continent. It is relevant to point out here that the Muslims of India in the early twenties of the 20th century had launched the Khilafat movement to pressurise the British to change their policy towards Turkey and its ruler who was the Caliph of the Muslim world.² The people of Jammu and Kashmir also organized Khilafat agitation. The shrines and mosques of Jammu and Kashmir played an important role in furthering the Khilafat Movement within the State. Imams and preachers of mosques and shrines in Jammu were persuaded "to declare Jihad in their waiz after prayers as was being done all over India in connection with the Khilafat Movement".³ It was also

-
1. While the leaders of the Anjunn were striving to secure the redressal of the grievances of the Muslims, a new group of the youth influenced by western education did not agree with the ways and ways of the tradition bound, conservative and top leadership of the Anjunn. They accused that Anjunn had become the private property of the Mirwaiz Moulvis.
 2. R.C. Majumdar and A.K. Majumdar, The History of Culture of the Indian People, Vol. XI, p. 316.
 3. J&K State Archives, File NO: 200 of 1920.

decided to make the Imams and preachers move in the nook and corner of the state so that Waz-majlis could be held at different religious places, in order to impress upon the audience the necessity of Jihad against the British. The shrines and mosques were fertile for mobilising the people. The Khilafat meetings were arranged in mosques.¹ The majalis of naat-khawari were arranged in support of the Khilafat movement. The Imams of the mosques and preachers made speeches at the meetings held in mosques, prayers were offered for the victory of the Muslim armies and for the success of the Caliph of Turkey. At a meeting held at Jamia Masjid in Kashmir, on June 11, 1920, the Imam of the mosque during the course of khutba prayed for the success of the Caliph of the Muslims. The Imam of Khanqah-i-Maula in a meeting "held on Friday prayed for the continued existence and stability of the Caliphate; prayers were also offered for the victory of the warriors of Islam fighting against the infidels. The audience were greatly impressed. Many of them were heard weeping bitterly. Then the Imam announced the programme for the next meeting to be held at Chrar-i-Sharif".² The people responded most favourably to the call of Imams and preachers so that the leaders and Imams had to

.....

1. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 82.

2. G. H. Khan, op. cit., pp. 109--110.

shift the venue of their meetings from shrines and mosques (which were too inadequate to accomodate the ever growing number of people) to public places.¹ The shrines and mosques became the platforms for the leaders of the Muslims to advocate and mobilise the cause of freedom.

Thus it would be observed that the mutwalis and Imams felt drawn towards freedom struggle in Kashmir. To quote an example, Pir Maqbool Gilani mutwali of ziarat of Pir-i-dastagir, himself a jagirdar, and man of considerable influence was greatly sympathetic to the cause of freedom in Kashmir. He convened of a meeting of about two hundred Muslims at his house. It was attended, among others, by the following personalities: Maulana Yusuf Shah, (Mirwaiz of Kashmir), Moulvi Muhammad Abdullah Advocate, Mir Waiz Hamadani, Munshi Shahab-ud-Din, Mukhtar Shah Petition-writer, Qazi Mustafa Shah Kothdar, Khawaja Ghaffar Joo, Basu Kothdar, Ghaffar Joo Banday, Ghulam Ahmad Zaildar Pampur, Umar Malik Pulwama, Mukhtar Lone Laigin, Akbar Dar Darbagham and Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. It was the first political meeting of so many Muslims which was attended by the Muslims from not only Srinagar, but the suburbs also.² The participation of the

1. The Khilafat movement was a land-mark in the history of Jammu and Kashmir state. Muslims of Kashmir for the first time identified themselves with the mainstream of the Indian freedom struggle.
2. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, op. cit., p. 359.

mutwalis¹ of the shrines, accelerated the freedom movement as they were having complete hold over the society.

The year 1931 was a landmark in the freedom struggle of Kashmir against the autocratic rule of the Maharaja. The year 1931 witnessed "infact a vehement expression of a deeply felt resentment of the Muslims who had failed in the past to persuade the rulers do them justice"². They exploited the incident of an alleged desecration of the holy Quran³ and incidents of Khutba⁴ and made it the starting point for a well organized bid to end the misrule. There was hue and cry against the government for the humiliation of Quran and Khutba prayers.

In Srinagar the news spread like wild fire and protests were made made by the people against the government. On June 8, 1931, a protest demonstration was organized at Jamia Masjid. It should be remembered that in a mass meeting held at Jamia Masjid

.....

1. It is interesting to point out here that among the mutwalis of Srinagar, Mirwaiz Hamadani became a devote follower of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah in freedom struggle.
2. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 119.
3. It was on July 4, 1931 at an hour when according to the standing orders, all bedding should have been rolled up and put away by the constables of the jail guards at the Central jail, Jammu that a Muslim constable Fazldad, was found sitting on his bedding reading the Quran. The Head constable Labha Ram, remonstrated with him and rolled up his bedding. When he threw the bedding on his box, the punj sura fell upon the ground. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 126.
4. On April 29, 1931 (Friday), when the Muslims were busy in prayer in Jammu, a sub inspector tried to stop the Imam named Munshi Muhammad Ishaq from reading khutba. This was considered an act of sacrilege.

in connection with Jamia incidents, Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah (Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir) introduced Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah by proclaiming him "our leader"¹. Moulvi Yusuf Shah further told the people that whatever he (Shaikh Abdullah) would say, represents "my views and those of our entire people." The Moulvi then made an appeal to the gathering to act according to the directions of the Shaikh and implement the programmes he would place before them.²

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah delivered his maiden speech to a gathering at the Jamia Masjid and urged the people to lodge a massive protest against the Tauhin-i-Quran (sacrilege). The important Muslim shrines all over the Valley were used as platforms of protest against the ruling authorities. Eventually some people suggested to the authorities that orders ^{should be} issued to prohibit public meetings within the Sheshbuka. The government issued a notice prohibiting the holding of public meetings within the premises of the Jamia Masjid without the prior permission of the authorities. But this had no effect on the ~~xxxxx~~ leaders, who

1. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, Kashmiris Fight for Freedom, Vol. I, p. 351. S. M. Abdullah, op. cit., p. 71.

Mirwaiz dynasty had profound influence over the people of Kashmir. Naturally Moulvis introduction of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah to the people gained the Shaikh the much needed popular support of the people of Kashmir masses which he continued to receive throughout his life.

2. Ibid.,

carried on their activities.¹ Speaking at a public meeting held at Hazratbal Moulvi Yusuf Shah said, "If we are arrested there is nothing for you to fear. If ten of us are arrested, the other ten must be prepared to take our places."

Even Shaikh Abdullah while speaking at a public gathering at Jamia Masjid clarified that in case he was arrested, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar would succeed him to conduct the movement. The speeches of preachers and political leaders at mosques and shrines prepared the people for any kind of eventuality, they might have to face in future.²

It was on June 21, 1931, that a mammoth gathering assembled at Khanqah-i-Mualla. Before this gathering were declared the names of seven prominent gentlemen who were to represent the Muslims and advocate their cause. These representatives included the following³ :-

1. Mirwaiz Moulvi Muhammad Yusuf Shah;
2. Mirwaiz Ahmad-ullah Hamadani;
3. Agha Saiyid Hussain Jalali;

1. The Governor invited both Yusuf Shah and Shaikh Abdullah to his office for a discussion. The Governor asked the Shaikh why he had been violating the government orders. The Shaikh with his outspoken boldness told the Governor that no law could prevent the Muslims from making speeches in the mosques.

2. Aatash-i-Chinar, op. cit., p. 73.

3. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op. cit., p. 84.

4. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai;
5. Munshi Shihab-ud-Din;
6. Khawaja Sad-ud-Din Shawl; and
7. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah.

It was decided that the collective leadership comprising these seven representatives would be headed by the prominent figures, viz., Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Moulvi Yusuf Shah. These leaders on the occasion swore by the Holy Quran promising the people that they would remain faithful to their cause, and work in solidarity to the end.¹ The mammoth gathering, their sentiments, and the unity among leadership manifested at Khanqah-i-Mualla on 21 of June, 1931 made it an omenous occasion in the freedom struggle of Kashmir. It was on this occasion that long standing rivalry² among various groups and conflicts among the leaders came to an end. Thus was cleared the ground for united and concerted action against the Dogras. The leaders of the time resolved the so long unity and co-operation among the people was

1. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op. cit., p. 88.

2. The Kashmiris were divided into many groups which sometimes led them to fight with one another. Often, they quarrelled trifles which debarred them from reaping any substantial advantage. The different sects and their differences like Hanfis, Ahl-i-Hadith, Ahmadis, Ahl-i-Sunnat, Shias and Sunnis had only helped to disintegrate the Muslim community. Moreover, the differences among the leading Moulvi dynasties namely Mirwaiz of Jamia Masjid and Mirwaiz of Khanqah-i-Mualla had created fuss and confusion among the people. The two houses of the Mirwaizeen had been at daggers drawn for a long time.

23

missing no struggle would bear fruit. Realising their weaknesses, the leaders pushed their differences into the background and embraced one another and expressed their determination to fight against autocratic rule of Dogras. This time Mirwaiz Moulvi Yusuf Shah (preacher of Jamia Masjid) embraced his rival, the preacher of Khanqah-i-Mualla named Moulvi Ahmad-Ullah Hamdani. Moulvi Abdullah Vakil (leader of Ahmadiyas) shook his hands with Moulvi Yusuf Shah.¹ Thus many leaders and preachers joined together at the platform of Khanqah-i-Mulla and started their campaign jointly. It is said that inauguration and initiation of the freedom movement was formally made at Khanqah-i-Mualla. This time the ideas of the people were synonymous and they aimed at achieving the same object.

The meeting was about to end, that an unknown person named Abdul Qadeer², a non-Kashmiri Muslim and an employee of an English army officer surprisingly ascended the platform of Khanqah-i-Mulla and with the permission of the stage people expressed his ideas in chaste Urdu. He told the audience that, "They were ~~and~~ ruled by a government whose officers had even the impertinence to

1. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op. cit., p. 83.
2. Abdul Qadeer had come to Kashmir with his employer who was a casual visitor on leave from the army wanting to spend the hot summer in cool climate of Kashmir. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, op. cit., p. 373.

insult their religion; he assured them of the solidarity of the Muslims of India and asked them to rise to the occasion and fight for the vindication of their honour. He warned the government that Muslims would answer violence with violence if their grievances were not redressed. Naturally he received a prolonged ovation by a crowd that was thirsty of such words of courage hope and support".¹

Abdul Qadeer's speech added fuel to the fire and he was arrested soon thereafter. A criminal case was institutioned against Mr. Abdul Qadeer. The proceedings could not be run in the open court. The authorities therefore, shifted the venue of the court to the premises of Central jail and the court was scheduled to sit on 13th of July, 1931². The people flocked to Central jail, Srinagar in large numbers. On that date they raised slogans in favour of Abdul Qadeer. Some of the people entered premises of Central jail. They started prayer in the compound. Meanwhile the jail authorities rebuked the jail employees for allowing the people to come in.

1. M. Y. Saraf, op. cit., p. 373.
Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op. cit., p. 85.

However, it should be mentioned here that Abdul Qadeer since his arrival in Srinagar participated in the meetings of the freedom movement, during his leisure hours. The sad plight of Muslims had greatly affected Abdul Qadeer.

2. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 116.

Orders were issued for the arrest of the people who were outside jail. While the jail personnel started arresting the people, the enraged crowd pelted stones at them. The police resorted to firing upon those who were within the jail premises which resulted in many casualties. Besides several people were left wounded. Finally these dead bodies were brought to Jamia Masjid and were buried in the compound of the shrine of Naqshband Sahib¹ at Khawaja Bazar. It is not out of place to mention here that this tragic ~~exp~~ episode added significance to the shrines and mosques particularly those of Khanqah-i-Mualla where from the procession towards the jail had started; the Jamia Masjid where the dead bodies of the martyrs were brought before their burial and finally the shrine of Naqshband Sahib where they were finally buried. This action of the leaders and the people was an unmistakable pointer in the direction of the role played by the shrines in the freedom struggle of Kashmir. Almost all the historians of modern Kashmir agree that most of the speeches made by the political leaders came from the religious platforms of the shrines

1. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

Ever since the people in general and Muslims in particular have looked upon the Mazar-i-Shuhda (Martyrs Movement) the name given to this place, as a centre of pilgrimage every year on 13th of July. Procession is taken out which after wending its way through various streets of Srinagar terminates at the Mazar-i-Shuhda. The people offer floral tributes to martyrs and the fathiya is followed by speeches of the leaders.

and mosques of Kashmir-- whether it be Jamia Masjid, the shrine of Shah-i-Hamadan at Khanqah-i-Mualla, Dastgir Sahib at Khanyar, Hazratbal shrine or any other mosque of Kashmir.

In July 1931, the Governor of Kashmir read out a message from His Highness to his subjects, in the Exhibition Ground, promising enquiries into grievenc^ycies of the majority community. But this offer of the government conveyed through the Governor of Kashmir was rejected by the congregation of Muslims at Jamia Masjid on July 10, 1931.¹

The massive uprising of 1931 witnessed the rise of Shaikh Abdullah to the top of the ladder of political leadership in Kashmir. In course of time Shaikh Abdullah concentrated his political activities at Mujahid Manzil which became the head-quarter of the National Conference during the forties of twentieth century. Nevertheless he did not loose sight of the shrines² like Khanqah-i-Mulla, Naqshband Sahib, Dastgir Sahib and Hazratbal.

1. Geography of Jammu and Kashmir, p. 176.

2. The last mentioned shrine was developed under the dynamic leadership of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah an enviable position and it (shrine) came to be regarded as Madinat-us-Sani particularly when the shrine was reconstructed, under his directions, on the pattern of Madina-Munawara.

To conclude, it can be said that the shrines and mosques played a very important role in the political life of people of Kashmir. The shrines which were originally places of pilgrimage and centres of worship and preaching, became instrumental in arousing political consciousness among the masses. The masses had profound devotion towards and faith in the shrines so they would flock there in large numbers. They responded to the call of political leaders given from the pulpits of mosques and threw themselves heart and soul into the freedom struggle. They drew inspiration both from the saints and the preachers as also from the political leaders which finally brought them close to their long cherished dream of freedom.

CHAPTER -- 6TH

Economic Impact of Shrines:

...

The growth of faith in shrines and the frequent visits of people to the shrines gradually produced a climate in which the credulous masses of Kashmir became objects of exploitation by the mujavirs. The exploitation was mainly economic. No doubt, the people offered money to the jujavirs and other attendants of the shrines in the hope of receiving divine grace through the good offices of these religious brokers. Ignorant and superstitious as the masses were, they never even for a while suspected the intensions of the mujavirs and did not at all doubt their (mujavirs) incapacity to obtain them any advantage whatever.

The enshrinement of relics of the saints and the construction of their tombs within the premises of the shrines further enhanced this awe and venerability of the shrines.¹ Such a development widened the scope of exploitation of the common people by the mujavirs. The mujavirs and the attendants of the shrines exacted money from the people with remorseless ease. Apart from cash offers, the people were also encouraged to bring to the shrine grains, poultry², cloth and blankets. All these items or a large share thereof was grabbed by the mujavirs.

1. Census, 1931, p. 86.

2. See supra, p. 84

: 4/11

Not only the common people, but even the rich people brought cash and gifts to the shrine and offered these to the mujavirs for the same reason as prompted the poor masses to make the offerings voluntarily or by persuasion. Additionally perhaps the rich people thought that it was a sure means of earning a reputation and rising in the scale of public estimation.

This system of offerings to the mujavirs monetary and material inducements by the people in the hope of earning none too simple spiritual or religious merit represented only the fraction of the economic impact that these shrines made on the people and society. More importantly the shrines became the hubs around which came up habitates which eventually grew into a small towns¹ with markets. People in large numbers visited the shrines on occasions of Urs and other days of festivity. Occasionally they spent night or two at the ziarat. On their return they considered it their sacred duty to make purchases of a few articles from the market which they looked upon as Tabruk. No wonder, therefore, that articles produced elsewhere were brought to these markets to be sold to the pilgrims. However, certain areas around the ziarat came to acquire special skill in

.....

1. Such towns are to be met with at Aishmuqam, Baba Rishi, Chrar-i-Sharif and Hazratbal.

24

manufacturing¹ one article or the other, depending of course on the availability of raw-material. The ornate kangar from Chrar has acquired certain amount of respectability with finding access to prestigious drawing rooms the world over.

Lately the flourishing willow-work industry has grown up round the shrine at Hazratbal. Beautiful ~~box~~ braziers(kangars) baskets, boxes, screens and several articles of furniture are manufactured at Hazratbal. It was at the shrine of Hazratbal that the people of different areas particularly of pargana Fak used to purchase their goods and other provisions for a week.² The fairs and festivals were attended by the women as well. This was most probably the occasion when only women used to come out of their homes. The presence of women lent a special charm to the occasion and they pressed their husbands or parents to go for more purchases for their own use. Thus such items as ornaments³ were brought from these markets by the pilgrims coming to the shrine from far and near. The fairs at the shrines lasted many

1. Chrar-i-Sharif was one such place where the people developed special skill in producing the most highly prized brazier (kangar) called Chrar-Kangar. A special variety of such kangar which was and still is given away to married daughters on special occasions. Pandits give a kangar to each of their married daughters on the occasion of Shivratri, every year. The Muslims use this kangar for burning wuda and Isband on occasions of marriage.
2. This information was given to me by Haji Ghulam Muhammad alias niama of village Zakura of Pargana Fak.
3. Armlets, bangles, ear-rings, finger-rings, necklaces were the ornaments purchased. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 289.

days so that the merchants and shopkeepers found an extending market for their goods for several days. The people of Mir Bahri¹ (popularly known as Dal lake) who were mostly vegetable growers visited most of the shrines of Srinagar for selling vegetable. But they mostly brought their produce for sale at the market in Dargah almost daily but weekly transections on Fridays and on the days of festivals were the largest.

The growth of villages and towns around or in close proximity to the shrines opened up opportunities of increased employment to the local people which resulted in their economic welfare.²

The shrines wore a festive look on Fridays when people flocked there to offer Nimaz-i-Juma (congregational prayer). It is on Fridays and other festivals that the markets around the shrines were seen humming with activity. At Hazratbal and Jamia

-
1. Mir means large Bahr means sea. Since it is a great lake of Kashmir, it was called Mir Bahri.
 2. The shrines not only provided chances of earning money to the mujavirs and pirs but also to the local population of the villages too. Abdul Ahad Azad has rightly remarked that it was due to the blessings of the shrine at Chrar-i-Sharif that local population which constituted various sections of people, viz., businessmen, traders, intellectuals, Reshis, shopkeepers and others obtained Azuka (sustenance). See Qasida of Abdul Ahad Azad which is in the preservation of Master Ghulam Nabi of Chrar-i-Sharif.

Masjid¹ one was never surprised to see several venders from outside the state displaying and selling their articles including metal ware, drapery, toys, bangles and other articles.

Thus shrines contributed to the acceleration of the process of urbanisation in their own way. There was hardly a segment of society or an age-group or sex that was not drawn towards the shrines for one reason or the other. Apart from providing spiritual benefit and religious merit, the market around a shrine assured adequate opportunity to both the seller and the buyer. To the former, it gave the opportunity to dispose of his goods while it enabled the latter to purchase whatever articles he needed for his use. These markets influenced the tastes of the buyers and whenever there was an increase in the demand for an article there was a corresponding increase in production and supply of that particular item.

Realising the economic and social significance of the shrines people lost no time in making liberal grants to the shrines. The rich people including the several business houses displayed special fervour and enthusiasm in ear-marking a portion of their profits as donation to the shrines.²

1. Jamia Masjid which was a common meeting place on Fridays, Idds and other festive occasions there came into existence a large and permanent market. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, op.cit., p. 62a.

2. The house of khanyaris, an important business house of Srinagar make lavish grants to the shrine of Makhdoom Sahib.

In rural areas the people usually had greater faith in the shrines. Inevitably, the rural community felt the economic impact on the shrines to a greater extent than their counterparts in the urban areas. The fear of a famine, flood, fire or epidemic and the hope of blessing and boon were uppermost in the minds of illiterate people, more particularly in the minds of the rural poor. They were convinced that a calamity or economic disaster could be averted only if they in all humility approached the shrine and the saint enshrined there and begged for a reprieve. Likewise because of their blind belief in the miraculous powers of the shrine and the saint, they sought the favour of a son or a daughter. Sometimes they implored forgiveness for a sin. They would often seek prosperity at the shrines by praying to the saint. But on such occasions they never went to the shrine empty-handed. They carried gifts and presents¹ and offered them to the mullahs. Certain people could gladly donate a walnut² tree or an almond tree to the shrine. The people of villages who were comparatively less resourceful donated paddy and other grains to the shrine. Very often people hungering for a son³ or marriage of their daughter or son or for

1. See supra, pp. 84-85

2. *Lawrence* p. 286

3. D. C. Sharma, op. cit., p. 99.

the achievement of any other object tied cords at the shrines which they untied only after the boon was granted. On such occasions the seekers came to the shrine with presents and gifts and sometimes threw a feast to the people present on the occasion. These people included their own relatives and friends and people from the neighbourhood.¹

The forties of 19th century witnessed the construction of roads² that linked some of the places of worship and shrines with the towns at a distance and atleast some of these shrines were connected with the city proper. The development of means of communication led to increase economic activity which benefited particularly the mujavirs and mullahs as also the business class.

The ever increasing influence of the shrines led to increase in the population of Babas and Rishis, who moved around the shrine.³ It were these people who moved out of their homes to collect cash and kind from people living in different parts of the Valley⁴, some of which were at long distance.

1. At Baba Rishi's shrine at Bangil (Tangmarg) people performed the ceremony of first hair cut (zarkasai) of their children to the accompaniment of a feast, besides the offerings to the shrine and mullahs.
2. The people by and large went to shrines on foot. The custom of footing the distance from residence to the shrines was common among the more credulous and the poor masses. There were others who covered the distance by boats if they could afford to do so. There were of course water ways which linked the shrines with the certain parts of the city such as the shrine of Hazratbal on the Dal lake and Khanqah-i-Mulla and Bulbul Shah on the right bank of river Jhelum.
3. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi, op. cit., p. 62.
4. See Appendix I.

Evidently the shrines encouraged the growth of the class of mujavirs and mullahs on the one hand and Rishis and Babas on the other. It is very important to point out here that these people were parasites who produced nothing and depended solely on the earnings of others. The conclusion here becomes irresistible that the shrines tended to create an economic divide between the parasite and the hard working mass of peasantry. On the one hand the parasite class of Pirzadas and Babzadas escaped hard work and the much hated begar, on the other hand there were the illiterate superstitious ignorant mass of people who were subject to heavy exaction and begar. The shrines and its management became yet another instrument of economic exploitation of the poor people. The masses were thus further defrauded of what actually belonged to them. The superstitious and credulous Kashmiri could not afford to incur the displeasure of the saint and the mujavirs, as such he had to find means not only to pay the revenue and the rent but also a share of his produce to the shrine and the mujavir. In desperation, the poor peasant turned to the resourceful who could lend him ready money even at exorbitant rate of interest. It was in these circumstances the class of ruthless money lenders came into existence and in the emergence of this class the shrines played their own role.¹

1. The institution of money lenders had a far-reaching effect on country's economy. While the money-lender continued advancing money to the illiterate and the suspecting peasant in dire need, he went on mortgaging the land of the peasant till such time as the peasant was reduced to the status of a poor labourer.

The fairs and festivals were attended by many folk artists who through the blessing of the shrine gained too much fame. The musicians, magicians, jugglers, bhaggats and bands¹ flocked to the shrines and displayed their art to the people. The festive occasion helped to their fame far and wide. Their services were in great demand and they made good living by giving demonstrations and displays at various shrines and other places.

These artists came to have over the years implicit faith in and devotion to the shrines. Before setting out to demonstrate their skill at different places they would in the first instance give a performance at ~~the~~ a shrine nearby their residence. On that occasion they invoked the saint and sought his blessings² for successful conclusion of their tour. It is a common site to see Sufiana Kalam being sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments particularly during days at different shrines spread over the length and breadth of the Valley. Many singers have saints for their pirs and quite a number of them are initiated into singing of Natia Kalam by the saints and pirs. Therefore, after singing the praise of Allah and the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) they

1. Lawrence, op. cit., p. 312

2. The Bhaggats and Bands carried the emblem of different saints particularly that of Shaikh-ul-Aalam.

also singh in praise of saints and aulia. At the shrines a large gathering of people did not only appreciate the singers and musicians but showered money on them lavishly. The money thus earned enabled these skilled musicians to live in comfort. The other artists like jugglers and bands also earned money by displaying their feats to entertain people and thereby ensured a reasonably good earning to themselves.

The beggars made the shrines the centres for their begging. There was hardly any important shrine which was devoid of beggars particularly on festive occasions and Fridays.¹ From this it follows that the shrines provided a fertile ground for beggars to flourish. In course of time begging became an established institution and the shrines tended to give to this institution covertly or overtly religious sanction. The beggars would turn up in large numbers and beg for alms from the pilgrims. In this manner they avoided physical labour and since they produced nothing themselves, they became parasites. Their indifference towards honourable profession and labour affected

1. The Kashmiris^{here} essentially a sympathetic people. They were always favourably disposed towards the beggars whom they offered alms even without being asked to do so. The Kashmiris paid the beggars either in cash or in kind particularly when they visited the shrines. They considered the occasion appropriate and fit for helping the needy people.

very adversely the economic prospects of the Valley.¹ The pilgrims also encouraged begging to some extent. The shrines were visited by the pilgrims who were motivated by the teachings of the great saints, who always stood for giving away in charity to the needy and the deserving. The saints themselves had all their lives neither asked for nor received a farthing, to say nothing of collecting or hoarding the money. The pilgrims would be happy to spend the last penny at the shrine and give to the beggars alms liberally and then they were delighted to return home empty handed because such was their philosophy and was their culture.

A special feature of the festivals was the public auctioning of the cattle. A large number of those who had to sell and those who wanted to buy cattle came to the shrine with the usual niyaz and nazr. The items of offerings (nazr-u-niyaz) included live cattle blankets and other articles, which were auctioned. The sale proceeds thereof were deposited with the chest of the shrine.²

1. Anybody visiting Hazratbal, Makhdoom Sahib or any other shrine in the city or a town would come across a sizeable section of beggars sitting in a row and imploring the people to give them something and thus earn in the bargain, their gratitude and the blessings of the saints and Allah.

2. This custom is seen to prevail even today.

The fairs and festivals, which initially aimed at religious upliftment gave birth to many other socio-economic problems. During the innumerable festivals of Kashmiri Muslims they used to arrange feasts and did not hesitate to borrow for the purpose, although borrowing in those days was too difficult task as they had to repay it with heavy interest. Obviously, the fairs and festivals had great impact on socio-economic life of Kashmiri Muslims. Generally after a saint's demise, he became an object of worship and this evidently gave rise to a number of problems.¹

In following the practice of saint-worship Muslims of Kashmir deviated and departed from the right spirit of Islam and limited its objectives to suit their pleasure which ultimately gave birth to such customs as created many socio-economic problems for the people particularly the poor.²

1. G. H. Khan, op. cit., p. 147.

2. The people considered it imperative to spend lavishly on these occasions in order to live up to their social status. Spending beyond one's means often created economic problems for the community as a whole. The poor who could not afford a meal had to arrange the feast in imitation of his more fortunate neighbour. He had therefore, to borrow irrespective of his capacity to repay the debt. Moreover, the people vied with one another in making offerings at the shrines and in placating the mujavirs with cash or kind. A baneful socio-psychological effect of the festivals was increase in superstition.

Of the many festivals that Muslims celebrated in the Valley, four were very important. On these occasions families entered into matrimonial alliances and exchanged lavish gifts²

Conclusion:

The foregoing analysis of the facts connected with the shrines of Kashmir has been attempted with a view to putting in proper perspective the economic impact of the shrines. There was hardly a class or a segment of the Muslim community in Kashmir which was not attached to the shrine. All these sections of society had an economic interest, though on most of the occasions, the economic interest had the religious cloak. The pirs and the mujavirs, the tradesmen and commercialists, the performing artists and the artisans, all of these people had a stake in the shrines and the festivities celebrated there. Their main interest was pecuniary. As appears from the above analysis, these people earned a living at the shrine in one capacity or the other, viz., as mujavirs, salesmen or showmen.

1. Idd-i-Ramzan, Idd-i-Qurban, Miraj-i-Sharif and Urs-i- Nabi Lawrence, op. cit., p. 268.
S. M. Iqbal and K. L. Nirash, op. cit., p. 42.
2. The rich parents of a boy sent expensive gifts to the daughters parents who reciprocated this gesture with offer of costlier presents. Ibid.,

Even the beggars depended on the shrines for making a living. The shrines promoted, to a good extent, institutions of money-lending and beggary. Obviously, the economic impact of the shrines was as important as that on society and polity of the Valley.

THE
END
OF
THE
BOOK

C O N C L U S I O N :

•••

Kashmir has, since time immemorial abounded in temples, mosques and shrines. There is hardly ^{any} locality without a temple, a mosque or a shrine. Being the home of saints and seers, mystics and derveshes, the Valley has been known as Reshiwar.

The tradition of saint-hood and Reshim did not cease to exert its influence even after Islam was introduced into Kashmir, rather there was a progressive growth in the belief of people in saints, relics and shrines. It was partly due to the conversion of Hindus of the Valley to Islam. The process of conversion in Kashmir was unique in the sense that it did not prevent the neo-Muslims to retain some of their traditional practices like faith in saints and shrines and other objects of worship, which pristine Islam does not allow. In fact, Kashmir passed through the course of integration of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim-- most of the Hindus and Buddhists having embraced Islam-- streams of religion and culture, in a manner, the like of which was not to be witnessed anywhere on the sub-continent. If the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal evolved the worship of satyapir, the two communities in Kashmir nurtured the worship of Nund Rishi and his relics and the shrines, which today are widely dispersed. Alongwith Nund Rishi, Lal Ded or Lal Moj, as she is generally called was and is still looked upon as a self-realized saint commanding respect of both the communities. The sayings (respectively the shruks and vakyaas) of these two are at the tip of every

In the present work an attempt has been made to examine all these problems but there is scope for further research and indepth study on the role of mujavire and Babzadas associated with the shrines. An effort has also been made to highlight the contribution of the shrines towards education. There is need to stream line and cordinate the educational activities of these shrines and this could easily constitute a viable subject of an indepth study. The present work has sought to put the socio-cultural, political and economic impact of the shrines in perspective.

The emergence of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement has been posing a challenge to the religio-legal validity of the shrines. It deserves closer study which would hopefully yield good results. In fact, the question of the relevance of the shrines and relics to modern man is likely to become a debateable subject in near or distant future. But before that a research project on this theme could be undertaken to some advantage.

APPENDICES:

APPENDIX-- IAWARD:

Hazrat Makhdoom Shaikh Hamza, a saint held in great esteem by the residents of Kashmir, was born in the Hijrah 900 and after attaining the age of 84 years departed this world in 984 H. His resting place is on the Hari Parbat in Srinagar. It is visited by his devotees all the year round, particularly in Safar, the month of the annual Urs, when people come in great numbers from far and near to pay homage to the saint. He did not leave any issue behind as he led a celibate life, and is said to have been succeeded by his adopted son, Muhammad Ali. As is the case with the resting places of most persons who have attained spiritual greatness, the custom of holding religious ceremonies and making offerings also grew up at the shrine of Hazrat Makhdoom Sahib. It appears that originally Muhammad Ali's progeny, called Pir Sahiban Pain appropriated the offerings made at the shrine. Later, the progeny of saint's brother, Baba Ali Raina, called Pir Sahiban Bala, also claimed, and were given a share in the offerings. A third set of claimants, called Khadims, appeared on the scene later. They also got a small share in lieu of certain services which they were supposed to perform.

2. A dispute between Pir Sahiban Bala and Pain first started about holding of certain religious ceremonies, viz., Khatm-Khawani and Fatiha-Khwani. The matter went to court and was decided by an order dated 29th Jeth 1932 Samvat of Babu Nilambar, who held the Khatm-Khwani was the right of Pir Sahiban Bala, and Fatiha-Khwani was the right of Pir Sahiban Pain, and Fatiha-khwani of Pir Sahiban

Kashmiris tongue. Then there is a host of Saiyids and Rishis, viz., Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Bam-ud-Din, Batmaloo Sahib, Reshmol Sahib, and Baba Reshi and last yet not least Makhdoom Sahib and Pir-i-Dastgir (Kahnov) who are looked upon as guardian saints and saviours by the people, of Kashmir. On occasions of pleasure and pain, rejoicing and suffering in prosperity and calamity, they throng at the shrines of these saints, make obeisance and offerings. They pray for blessing and aversion of a catastrophe.

The people of Kashmir are of the firm opinion that their solidarity, economic welfare and political stability depend on the pleasure of these saints. Therefore, they do nothing to incur the wrath of these saints. During the week-long annual Urs of Reshmol Sahib, the entire population of the Anantnag town upto Bijbehara on the highway abstain from taking meat. This is a custom nowhere to be met with among the Muslims.

With the saints and shrines are associated the mujavirs and Babas, a class of people who draw their sustenance from the offerings of the people. Only a few of them now live upto the teachings and noble ideals of the saints. By and large, these custodians of the shrines exploit the ignorant and superstitious masses to feather their own nests. Very few ^{among} them, for not many of them are well versed in Fiqh, shariat and other branches of religion, impart right type of education and the training to the laity. Some of these mujavirs are seen to beg and sometimes extract money from the pilgrims which gives rise to corruption.

pain. He further held that subhan pahalwan one of the predecessors of the Khadims and his son would do the Khatm-Khwani on behalf of Pir Bala.

3. Another dispute arose between the Pir Sahiban Bala and pain and the Khadims 37 years later in 1969 samvat about the latter's share in the offerings. The dispute was referred to the arbitration of Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, who made an award to the effect that out of the offerings made at "Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni a half share of the Falus(copper coins) collected would go the Khadims. The remaining half, and the silver coins and other offerings made at this place, as well as all offerings made at the other fixed places, would go the Pir (or Baba) Sahiban. Apart from this, if any devotee will ingly made any offerings specifically to any Pir Sahib or Khadim, it would go to such Pir Sahib or Khadim.

4. A decree was passed by the court in accordance with the award. The decree was challenged before the High Court, as well as in revision before His Highness the Maharaja's but was throughout maintained. The Maharaja's order is dated 7th Bhadon 1974.

5. This, however, did not finally dispose of the matter. Disputes again started between the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims and another attempt to bring them together was made in 1957 under aegis of the Prime Minister. Certain proposals were made by Mirza Kamaluddin Sahib, President Intizamia Committee. The Pir Sahiban agreed to them but the Khadims backed out, and so the dispute remained unresolved.

6. The failure of this latest attempt at conciliation further strained the already relations between the parties and several cases, both civil and criminal, were brought by them against each other before the local courts. One of the cases, viz: criminal revision NO: 53 of 1958 Assadullah Pahalwan verses state, went before the High Court. There the parties agreed that all the cases pending between them may be referred to arbitration. As a result I was appointed arbitrator and the cases referred to me by the District Judge under his order dated 28.2.1961. Orders of the Government permitting me to act as arbitrator were issued in their latter NO:A-226/60 dated 14.11.1961.

7. The parties were required to file written statements of their cases. After these statements were received there was an oral discussion and the points which finally emerged as requiring decision were as follows:-

- (1) The respective rights of the parties to conducting the various ~~other than~~ religious rites and ceremonies performed at the shrine;
- (2) Their rights to the management of the affairs of the shrine other than religious ceremonies.
- (3) The share which the Khadims should get of the offerings made at "Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni".
- (4) The manner in which the other income accruing to the parties is to be appropriated.
- (5) Parties than filed the documents on which they relied

in support of their case. This was followed by arguments by their learned counsel.

9. How the parties originated and what is their status vis-a-vis each other has been the subject matter of long arguments. The Pir Sahiban claim that as the rightful heir of Muhammad Ali, the adopted son of the saint, and Baba Ali Raina his brother, they are entitled under Shariat law to manage the affairs of the shrine and appropriate the entire offerings made at it. The Khadims are no more than their personal servants and they were allowed by them a half share in the falus collected at the "Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni" in lieu of personal services rendered to them or to the shrine at their behest. They do not want these services to be rendered now and the Khadims should, therefore, be completely ousted from the shrine. The Khadims on the other hand deny that they are the personal servants of the Pir Sahaban, or that the latter have the sole right to manage the affairs of the shrine, or appropriate the entire offerings. They claim to be Khadims of servants of the shrine, and entitled as of right to a share in the management as well as in the offerings. They also deny that Muhammad Ali was the adopted son of the saint or could be so under Shariat Law.

10. Apart from the fact that adoption is not recognized under the Shariat law and a person of the saint's eminence would normally not be expected to do anything which openly contradicts

the law, there is also a particular statement in the adoption deed as to the ultimate fate of those who did not recognize the adoption, which has hardly a saintly ring about it. What ever be the truth about the adoption, the fact remains that the ancestors of Pir Sahibān pain have been recognized as descendants of the saint. As Proof thereof may be cited the following orders issued from time to time under the orders of the Mughal Emperors:-

<u>Name of Emperor and year in which issued</u>	<u>Brief contents of orders:</u>
1. Shah Jahan 1055 H	50 Khirwars shali given to Sheikh Qasim grandson of the said for maintenance.
2. Shah Jahan 24 Julus	Because of dispute about division of offerings, a half share each was ordered to be taken by Sheikh Qasim grandson of the saint and the descendants of Hasi Reshi. <u>Tauliat</u> (right of management was given to Sheikh Qasim)
3. Alamgir 1074 H	60 Khirwars shali given to Sheikh Qasim son of Sheikh Abdur Rahim for maintenance in addition to 150 Khirwars already given.
4. Alamgir 9 Julus	The rights of Sheikh Qasim (who had become old) were transferred to his four sons and a half share each in the offerings to the latter and to the descendants of Hasi Reshi was confirmed.
5. Alamgir 25 Julus	Share in the offerings as above were again confirmed and <u>Tauliat</u> recognized as of Sheikh Qasim, grandson of the saint.

11. There are some other imperial orders also leading upto the time of Muhammad Shah, one of the later (12 century Hihrah Emperors). Details about the contents of these orders need act, however, be given as they are to the same effect as the orders already mentioned in paragraph 10.

12. The learned counsel for the Khadims contests the genuineness of these orders and has suggested that they are forget documents. The orders have been produced before me in original and I find no grounds for accepting the learned counsel's contention. They are two to three hundred years old, and look their age. Their genuineness must, therefore, be presumed.

13. Three things clearly stand out from these orders (1) that Sheikh Qasim ancestor of Pir Sahiban pain, was recognized as the grandson of the saint (2) that tauliat was conferred on Sheikh Qasim and his descendants, and (3) that Hasi Reshi's descendants (Pir Sahaban Bala) were given a half share in the offerings. It will further be seen that there is no mention of the Khadims in any of these orders, and it may safely be assumed that they did not exist till a few centuries after the death of the saint. These learned counsel had tried to argue that they are one with Pir Sahiban Bala. This ~~argument~~ argument is based on the following sentence, occuring as apart of the pleadings, in Babu Nilamber's order:-

" on behalf of the defendants Ali Pahalwan conducted Khatm-Khwani and Fatiha Khwani".

The defendants in that case were Pir Sahaban Bala, and the plaintiffs: Pir Sahaban pain. The Khadims were not parties to the case. It is clear that the learned counsel is trying to put a meaning into the sentence which is not there, and what was meant was simply that Ali Pahalwan was appointed by the defendants to conduct the ceremony on their behalf. As to when the Khadims appeared on the scene would be evident from the instance of Pir Sahiban Bala, as stated in Bauunilabar's order that past practice (amal-i-qadim) in accordance with which the case was to be decided, should be taken to the practice followed within the 25 years immediately prior to the case. As they wanted Ali Pahalwan to continue to act on their behalf, it can safely be presumed that the practice of delegating some of the duties to him had not have originated earlier than 1907 samvat, and the institution of the Khadims is thus slightly more than a century old.

14. Very long arguments have been addressed to me on the point whether Khadims are the personal servants of the Pir Sahiban or the Khadims of the shrine. The stand taken by the Pir Sahiban is that being their personal servants, they are liable to be discharged at any time. It appears to me, however, that it is much too late in the day for the Pir Sahiban to claim that the Khadims should be deprived of the duties assigned to them, and of the share in the offerings which they get in lieu thereof.

There can, of course, be no doubt that as is evident from the Imperial orders and subsequent practice, the Pir Sahiban have a dominant position vis-a-vis the affair of the shrine, but the duties and a share in the perquisites, however, humble, allotted to the Khadims for more than a century cannot be done away within such a seeping fashion, particularly when they have been confirmed by orders passed by the civil courts. Under the circumstances, I consider it unnecessary to find to what extent, if any, the personal relationship of master and servant exists between the parties.

15. After making the above general remarks, I revert to the consideration of the disputed items enumerated in paragraph 7.

- (1) The respective rights of the parties to conducting the various religious ceremonies performed at the shrine.

As the tauliat of Pir Sahiban has been recognized in the imperial orders and they have also been acting as a body in recent times in appointing mutawallis, which right has never been challenged by the Khadims, the right to conduct religious ceremonies must be held to vest in them, except to the extent that it is proved to have been alienated.

The only alienation which has been established in favour of the Khadims is the Khatm-Khwani, vide Babu Nilambar's order dated 29th Jeth 1932. In my opinion, therefore, the Khadims are not entitled to conduct any rite or ceremony other than Khatm-Khwani, and that the right to all other observances like Azan, Peshwai-Namaz, Naat-Khwani, etc. rests in the Pir Sahiban.

(2) Their right to the management of the affairs of the shrine other than religious ceremonies:

Apart from making a general claim that they have an exclusive right to thevildari, Kalid-bardari tahaffuz mal-e-Ziarat etc. the Khadims have not been able to prove that they have any right to the management of the Shrine's affairs. Normally such management rests in the Mutawalli, and the tauliat being with the Pir Sahiban, it must be held that the Khadims have no right to the management of the Shrine's affairs.

(3) The share which the Khadims should get of the offerings made at Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni.

As has been stated in paragraph 3 above, out of the offerings made at Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni" a half share of the Falus (copper coins) was given to the Khadims under the award given by Mirza Ghulam Mustafa. I have already rejected the claim of the Pir Sahiban that, as they do not want the services of the Khadims any longer, no share of the offerings should be given to them. The question now is what share should be given to the Khadims in view of the introduction of the new decimal coins. Under the new dispensation, there are to be no silver coins, and the constituent of the new coins, his clients should be given a half of the total coins collected. On the other hand, it is argued on behalf of the Pir Sahiban that the only coin corresponding to the Falus now is the naya paisa, and the Khadims cannot therefore, claim a share out of any other coins. Both the arguments are in my opinion unsound. It was about 50 years ago when a half share in the Falus was given to the Khadims. The Zamindars were not well-to do at that time and the value of the currency was much higher.

Few people, therefore, could or did donate more than a Falus or two. So in receiving one half of the Falus, the Khadims must have obtained a substantial share of the total collections. At the latest attempt made at conciliation mentioned in paragraph 5, the Khadims were awarded one half of all coins upto and including 10np in value. The Pir Sahiban had agreed to it, but not the Khadims, on my enquiring from the latter as to the share they wanted, I was told that they would be satisfied with one half of all coins upto and including 50 np in value. We have thus three indications to go by four prescribing just share

(1) The Pir Sahiban had agreed to give half of all coins upto and including 10 np in value, (2) the Khadims want half of all coins upto and including 50 np in value (3) when a half-shareⁱⁿ the Falus was fixed for the Khadims they got a substantial share of the total collections. Added to these three indications is the fact that the claim made by the Khadims before me now may safely be presumed to be somewhat over-stated. Keeping all these factors in view, a two-fifths share of all coins upto and including

50 np in value to the Khadims and three-fifths to the Pir Sahiban would, in my opinion be a just distribution. All these offerings at "Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni" whether in cash or in kind, are to go the Pir Sahiban.

- (4) The Manner in which the other income accruing to parties is to be appropriated.

The parties are agreed that if any offerings is made specifically to any Pir Sahib or Khadim be a devotee, it will be appropriated by such Pir Sahib or Khadim. They are further agreed, that the offerings made at the other two fixed places called "Deorhi Beruni and "Rauza Sharif" (or Rauza Bal) go the the Pir Sahiban. Two other sources of income have been mentioned. One is at the time of distribution of nan and Shirini and the other for keeping a watch on the shoes which the devotees remove while entering the sacred precincts of the Rausa Sharif (Jora-bardari). At present the distribution of Nan and Shirini is made by the intizamia Committee because the parties could not come to any terms about the matter. This system should continue and anything is offered by a devotees

voluntarily while receiving the "tabarruk" it should be divided equally between the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims. As for Jorabardari the duty should be allocated by the committee alternatively to the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims on a weekly basis. The charges to be made for one pair of shoe should not be allowed to exceed 5 np or an anna coin so long as such coin is current.

16. Apart from the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims there is yet another party interested in the case. This party is of the devotees. It is their charity which is hared by the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims and they also contribute to the maintenance and unkeep of the shrine be liberally subscribing to the collections made for the purpose from time to time. It is unfortunate that their interests have never been either properly presented, or adequately considered. Since this casee was referred to me for arbitration, several persons have written to me complaining against the conduct both of Pir Sahiban and the Khadims and of the forcible exactions made by them. Some of them have even suggested that they should be completely

ousted from the shrine. I have no doubt that the complaints are well founded, as would also appear from the reports relating to income and expenditure published every year by the committee. The greed and avidity with which the Pir Sahiban insist on obtaining their pound of flesh from the long suffering devotees would be apparent from the following extract taken from the written statement filed by them before me:-

" The need to establish an order and evolve a system for the receipt of the offerings and presents and for the performance of duties and responsibilities connected with the shrine was keenly felt with a view to put an end to the Pickerings, Thropines, Skirmishes, quarrels and fights that would take place and ensue every now and then between the two parties viz: Pir Sahiban Bala and Pir Sahiban Pain over the presents and offerings presented by a devotee and over of Makhdoom Sahib's person of a visitor to the shrine.

The underlined portion of the extract presents the picture of a minor battle waged for no better object than the exaction and appropriation of the presents and offerings and the lot of the poor devotee in such a battle with such heavy odds against him can well be imagined. The offerings and presents are not received at the shrine only. The Pir Sahiban made an yearly round of the devotee's houses, and make collections there also. In their written statement, the Pir Sahiban have themselves quoted the following couplet from Allama Iqbal in support of the existence of this custom:-

" Ba muridān roz-o-shab andar safar
Az Zarurat-hai millat be-Khabar"

On their own showing, therefore, the Pir Sahiban merely live on charity which they extract, and the Khadims also appear to be no better. They skirmish for the division of the spoils amongst themselves but present a common front against the devotees. The latter's interests have, therefore, also to be safeguarded. It is also necessary to prevent unseemly disputes occurring in the sacred precincts over collections made by Pir Sahibs or Khadims

individually, and this can only be done by prohibiting the making of all collections by the Pir Sahiban or the Khadims within the precincts of the shrine other than what is voluntarily delivered at the three specified places. All other payments of a devotee, including those to be particular Pir Sahib or Khadim must be made outside these precincts. The devotee has a right to visit the sacred place unmolested by mendicants and there is no other way of securing him this right. Some degree of decorum has to be maintained within the sacred precincts and "grapplings, Shirmishes, quarrels and fights" cannot be allowed to take place there. Those who transgress the limits must be penalized.

17. May award finally is as follows:-

- 1) The only religious rite which the Khadims are to perform is the Khatm-Khwani. All other rites and ceremonies, including Azan, Peshwai Namaz, Naat Khawani, Gulab Pashi, etc. are to be performed by the Pir Sahiban.
- 2) The management of the secular affairs of the shrine vests in the Pir Sahiban. These affairs shall be managed through the Intizamia Committee as at present constituted.

- 3) . The Khadims shall be entitled to a two-fifths ~~share~~ of all coins upto and including 50 np in value offered at "Shamadan Deorhi Andaruni". The remaining three fifths as well as all other offerings made at this Shamadan, shall go to the Pir Sahiban.
- 4) (a) The offerings at "Deorhi Beruni" and Rauza Sharif" shall go to the Pir Sahiban Exclusively.
- (b) Any offerings or present made to an individual Pir Sahib or Khadim by a devotee shall be appropriated by him. But such offerings or present shall not be solicited or received with the precincts of the shrine, of and if so received shall be confiscated and appreciated towards the general revenues of the shrine by the intizamia Committee. In case the transgressor fails to deliver the offering or present to the committee or its representative of habitually solicits them the committee shall have the right to exclude him from the precincts of the shrine for such period as it considers fit.
- (c) The distribution of nan and Shirini shall continue to be made by the intizamia committee. If any devotee makes any offerings while receiving tabberuk it shall equally be divided between Pir Sahiban and the Khadims.

(a) Jorabardari should be allocated by the Intizamia committee alternatively to the Pir Sahiban and the Khadims on a weekly basis. The charges to be made for one pair of shoes should not be allowed to exceed 5 mp or an one anna coin so long as such coin is current. Any party charging more shall confiscate its turn for the next week which shall be allotted to the other party. In the event of any of the parties failing to accept the arrangement, the Intizamia committee shall take such action as it considers fit.

Sd/-
M. M. Sidqi
Financial Commissioner
Arbitrator

12. 12. 1961

274

ہیں۔ اس کے واسطے نوبت دار کو عذر نہیں ہوگا۔

مقریف معین اختیار نہ ہوگا۔ اور ان سے تقاضہ نیاز کریں۔

۹۶۔ جو خدمت خادمان کو آستانہ لاسالمت سے اس کی انجام دہی میں پر لاف مچوئی۔ اگر کوئی خادمان آستانہ

اس میں نفس پرکھا۔ تو وہ مستحقِ حصولِ رحمِ اعلیٰ بن گیا۔ نفسِ خدمت کی نسبت مقبول و توفیق رکھا۔

وَن شَرِيعَتِی بِاَمْرِی فَرِیقِی مِیَنُ مَلِ بِاِیَا صَاحِبَانِ اَوْر کُلِّ عَادِلِ اَوَسْتَانِ بِتَعَوُّفِ عِلْمِیَا حَاجِی -

وہیں پر موملہ، ہائڈروجن کے ذرات فیصلہ ٹالشی عذرت ذرات پیش کرتے۔

دوسرے مضمون پر شامیہ مذاق کورٹ نہیں نہیں ہے۔ دوسرے مضمون پر شامیہ مذاق کورٹ نہیں نہیں ہے۔

مراد صاحب ثالث مقبول فریق - قریب معافان میں نہیں آسکتے۔

و دیگر این مردی ثلث مطبقی قانون بود - قوی و جوان - نفس - فیه قابل ترس و زاری - حسن -

۱۸۱۰ عرالت نوی معیار ابقدا و اسلم فصد مقرر نمیشد - ب - فصد شیر انداز مع میا گاه -

ج۔ عدالت نے بعد فیصلہ ناکت نہیں کیا تھا۔ مقدمہ روپے پانچ سو تیسکے عدم پروا میں داخلہ فرمایا۔ تو وہ
وہ بارہ پروا نہ جانتے تھے۔

ایسی صورت میں پھر باغیلم سرکاری عمل میں آئی جائے تھی۔ جو نہیں آئی۔

۵۔ باوجود موجودی و فیض جو معیار عدالت و تفریق مقرر کیا ہے۔ اس سے زیادہ مستحق جو فیض حاصل کیا ہے۔ جو قانون جائز نہیں ہے۔

و کوی شهادت فریق مطابق و قرار نامه مستحق و تهنیت کوی - اورش می عذر دات: نقص قبولت شهادت
ساعت ۵ تن

فریقین کو خصوص مدعا کے کوی اطلاع بتواری تاریخ و محل پیش کرنے بشاوت و عذرات عام آج فقہ و امام
نہیں ہوئی۔ اور نہ دی گئی ہے۔

اور ویں مدعیان مشورہ کی طرف سے یہ حکم درج ذیل ہے۔

۱۔ صلح مذہبش کیا۔ جو قابلِ فخر و پایا بکام در خواستِ غرور دار نیست، شائستہ اندر میاید و قرار دینگی۔ اور میرے عزیز و مددگار

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
فرمان نصیر الدین محمد یوسف



اس پریشانی کے باعث

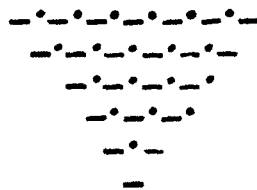
لے تا اور فتح والے محمدؐ یوسفؑ کا فرمان

شہادت کرادے۔ حضرت علیؑ نے طرے منشاخ و نیک نام صحابہ و شاہین محترمہ اور تمام اناس
اور اہل الخواص سب حضرت ابراہیمؑ کو ان بیرون و دست و شاگرد و تلمیذ کے لئے دلاکر بادشاہ
کی طرف سے باری کیا ہے کہ حضرت علیؑ کے خدایہ و انوار و جلال و شہادت و شہرت کے عالم
پر ان کے طرے اور شرف و درجہ کے ادا و حقیقت پر حرمہ و رحم کے لئے تہ تبریک و کی لولہ
شیخ عالم و توفیق فرماتے ہیں کہ مشہور وہ ہیں جو کتب یافتہ ہے اس کے ساتھ آستان شریف کے
ساتھ کرنا غایت عبادت و رحمت زمین و فیر و شامل ہے ان چیزوں کے ساتھ اگر حضرت کے
دست و اولاد و مایہ و اولاد ان کے مصلحت و مایہ و عجز و حواس کے ساتھ حق رکھتے ہیں یہ
سب لوگ ہمارے شہر و سادات و حکم کے بغیر آستانہ شریف کی اور اہل شریف کے ساتھ رض
نہ کہیں اور اس واسطے کہ نہ کریں اس کے ساتھ اگر کوئی نہ عیب نہ کرے کہ زمین و فیر
نہ کہیں کہ اگر حضرت کے مصلحت و مایہ و اولاد و شاہین و مایہ و اولاد و شاہین
باز ان دینے والے یا شہادت کی معافی کہتے کالی ہر سبب سے کہ باقی و اولاد
میں سے تھیں کہ کھٹا کھٹا مایہ و اولاد نہ کریں۔ میں نے لکھ دیا ہے کہ
نماز کے نسل و نسل جو کچھ حرمہ و رحمت شریف کے مایہ و اولاد و شاہین
نہایت پہلے دیکھ کر نامہ ستونہ مذکور بن شیخ عالم کے لئے لکھ دیا ہے کہ

A P P E N D I X I VAn extract from the waqfnama of Mir Muhammad Hamadani:

" In accordance with the great desire and repeated requests of the Exalted Sultan (Sikandar Shah) we built a mosque on the plat-form which my father of venerable memory had erected under the inspirational introductions of our great ancestor the Holy Prophet (may peace be on him), and with a special mandate allotted, the villages of wachi, Nunwani and Tral from the Shoura, Martand and Ullar parganas as Wagf, so that the keepers of the Hazrat Khan-Qahi-Mualla and the disciples passing their time in devotion therein might remain secure and immune from seeking the necessaries of life. I appoint my wise and great brother Maulana Mohammad Saiyid as the superintendent of this mosque and the belongings thereof so that the might look to the comfort and convenience of strangers, the inmates of the sanctuary who might be busy with the work of reform and devotion, and that medicants, devotees, piousmen, sincere believers and seekers after enlightenment might receive a share from the fruits of this commendable fruitful tree and the inmates of this mosque may aspire to the heights of

" I have a 'conference with God" Maulana Saiyid should be a servant of the great and elderly, obedient to the pious, a brother to youngsters and a father to orphans. He should also supervise watch and assist in the collection of the revenue of the aforesaid villages. If God forbid, an inmate devotee happens to commit a fault, he should pardon him once or twice and if he persists on it a third time, he should be warned and rebuked and if the persistence is stubborn the should punish him with expulsion from the Khan-Qahi-Mualla. He should clothe the naked and satiate the hunger of the hungry and the starving people".



282 - نبی اکرم ﷺ سے فرمایا کہ: یا ابا بکر!

اسکی حصہ آمدنی میں سے کچھ بڑا ربا اسکی آباء و اجداد کے اسباب اور حرام خوراک، بیوی و خواتین کے ایجاب و -

کئی حقہ آمدنی میں سے چھوٹا کر دیا جائے گا۔ اگر اس کا حساب اس کے لئے کرنا چاہنا ہوگا۔

(۱۵)۔ اگر متوفی خادم کا ایسے ملاں حقہ آمدنی خادم متوفی کی رقم میں سے دیکر دینے کے لئے ضروری ہوگا تو اس کا حساب اس کے لئے کرنا چاہنا ہوگا۔

بشرعاً ناجائز طریقہ سے حاصل ہونے والی آمدنی میں سے اپنے یا اور یا مالک یا حاکم یا ملازم سے کسی اور کی پیشوائی کیلئے قلاب ہوگا۔

(۱۶)۔ فیصلہ تعین حقوق مشرورہ میں سے کسی یا کسی اور کی پیشوائی کیلئے ضروری ہوگا تو اس کا حساب اس کے لئے کرنا چاہنا ہوگا۔

مکتوب القدر و جملہ آمدنی کے لئے ضروری ہوگا تو اس کا حساب اس کے لئے کرنا چاہنا ہوگا۔

خیر عا جائز ہے، پانہ۔ اور نہ۔ حرم کے کسی بزرگ دین کے لئے ہے پانہ ۲۔

محمد امین بن فاروقی حضرت بی کثیر

المفتی

الخصم

الحمد لله الذي جعل العلم نوراً

الجواب :- حاصل متوجہ میراث ہیں۔ مسئلہ اور اس کے احکام ایسے حاصل مرتب ہو سکتے ہیں۔ اور اس اطلاق میں
 ایسے دینی مباحات ہیں جو بجز انبیاء و رسل کے کسی اور شخص کے لئے نہیں ہیں۔ وہ صرف منتخب نبیوں کے لئے ہے جو مباح و رسل کے لئے ہے۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 تو یہ تمام مباحات ہیں جو ان کے لئے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 اور اس میں جو چیزیں ہیں جو ان کے لئے ہیں۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 حقیقت حاصل ہے۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 آئینہ ہے۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 شریعت حاصل ہے۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 (۳) جو شخص فقیر ہے اور اس کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 (۴) جو شخص غنی ہے اور اس کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 حقیقت حاصل ہے۔ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 بالذکر یہ ہے کہ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے
 بالذکر یہ ہے کہ ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے ان کے لئے

الحبيب

المستقر على علي الله الحسني
تتمتع به في الدنيا والآخرة
مفتي الإسلام

APPENDIX --VI

HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE JAMMU AND KASHMIR

258

Present:

The Hon'ble Janki Nath Wazir, Chief Justice
Civil Revision NO: 80 of 2011.

Hafiz Mohi-ud-Din

V/S

Fatima Bano

Revision against the order of Senior subordinate
Judge Srinagar dated 9th Bhadoon 2011.

Mr. J. N. Bhan,
Mr. S. N. Dhar.

This is a revision application directed against the order of the senior subordinate judge, Srinagar dismissing the appeal preferred by the applicant against the order of appointment of a receiver passed by the Trial Court. The Council for the applicant has argued that the respondent has no interest in the nobat offerings of ziarat Shah Hamadan and the order passed by the Trial Court appointing the receiver is, therefore, incorrect. It appears that plaintiff respondent has alleged that she is Khana Nishen, daughter of her father and has therefore, claimed the entire property left by her father and is entitled to her fathers share in the nobet offerings of Ziarat Shah-i-Hamadan. The Trial court has appointed the receiver to receive plaintiffs fathers share in the offerings of Ziarat Shahi-Hamadan pending the disposal of the case in the trial court. This appears to be a just order passed by the appeallate court, This application is, therefore, dismissed without passing any order as to costs.

If any party has any objection to the continuance of the present receiver, he may suggest any other name of a suitable person to be appointed as receiver. The trial court after hearing the parties shall pass orders according to law.
Dated: Srinagar. The 12 May 1955



وَلَا تَنْفَكُ مِنْهُ بِذِكْرِ الْوَيْدِ وَالْإِنشَاءِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ

تاریخ ۵۶-۱-۲۵

نمبر

منجانب

جناب من

صاحب من

محکمات قسم در اسفند الدام

۷۰

سر نقیہ منی

بدارز کم - رس می - کہ ہر چو - بابا ارز - پورن شاہ و در شان عو با جہم

۱۶/۶ - پورن شاہ - ار فرین سوا پورن - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ

۱۶/۶ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ

۱۶/۶ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ

۱۶/۶ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ

۱۶/۶ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ - پورن شاہ

مقدمه در باب غایب شدن
 ۱-۵-۵
 ۱۴۵ - ۱۴۶

- ۱ = پیشتر شده و بعد از آن - ۱-۵-۵
- ۲ = چهره شاه بزرگوارت حافظ (مجلس) شایسته ۵-۵-۵
- ۳ = سینه گویا دل بشه اکت به درج اول (مجلس) ۵-۵-۵
- ۴ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۵ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۶ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۷ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۸ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۹ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵
- ۱۰ = ۳ با ۳ بشه اکت بشه اکت ۵-۵-۵

در باب غایب شدن
 ۱-۵-۵
 ۱۴۵ - ۱۴۶

مقدمه در باب غایب شدن

۱-۵-۵
 ۱۴۵ - ۱۴۶

در باب غایب شدن
 ۱-۵-۵
 ۱۴۵ - ۱۴۶

در باب غایب شدن
 ۱-۵-۵
 ۱۴۵ - ۱۴۶

B I B L I O G R A P H Y :

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

...

Persian Manuscripts:

1. Anonymous --- Bharistan-i-Shahi, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.
2. Anonymous --- Tuhfatu'l-Ahbab, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.
3. Birbal Kachru --- Majma-ut-Tawarikh, MS Research, Library, Srinagar.
4. Baba Dau'd Mishkati --- Asrar-ul-Abrar, Research, Library, Srinagar
5. Ghulam Nabi Khanyari --- Wajeez-ut-Tawarikh, Research Library, Srinagar.
6. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Pandani --- Tarikh-i-Zakayiru'l Muneer, Owner of this Persian Manuscript is Bashir Ahmad Hussaini (Forester in the Forest Department, J & K State).
7. Haider Malik Chaudara -- Tarikh-i-Kashmir, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.
8. Muhammad Azam Didamari --- Tarikh-i-Azmi, MS, Research Library, Srinagar.
9. Mahiu'd-Din Miskeen --- Tarikh Kabir, MS., Research Library, Srinagar.
10. Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi --- Nurnama, Research Library, Srinagar.
11. Saiyid Ali --- Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Research Library, Srinagar.
12. Shaikh Ahmad Trali --- Resala-e-Dhar Gosh Khurdn Hazrat Rishi, R.P.D., NO: 1056, MS., Srinagar.

.. / ...

TRAVEL ACCOUNTS:

1. B. Hugel ----- Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, London, 1845.
2. B. E. Von Schonberg ----- Travels in India and Kashmir, 1853.
3. B. C. Hugel ----- Travels in Kashmir and Punjab, London, 1845.
4. F. Bernier ----- Travels in Mughal Empire, London, 1891.
5. G. T. Vigne ----- Travels in Kashmir, Ladak and Iskardoo, 2 Vols, London, 1842.
6. H. D. Torrens ----- Travels in Ladakh Tartar and Kashmir, London, 1863.
7. W. Moorcraft and Trebeck ----- Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, 2 Vols, London, 1841.
8. W. Wakefield ----- History of Kashmir and Kashmiris.

Published Works:

1. Baba Dau'd Khaki ----- Dastur-ul-Salikin, Research Library, Srinagar.
2. Hasan Shah Moulvi ----- Tarikh-i-Hasan, 4 Vols, Research Library, Srinagar, Urdu Translation of Vol. II and III by Moulvi Muhammad Ibrahim, Srinagar.
3. J. C. Dutt ----- Kings of Kashmir being a translation of the Sanskrit works of Kalhana, Jonaraja, Srivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka Vols I--III.
4. M. A. Stein (ed.) ----- Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Vol. I, Bombay, 1892.

- M. A. Stein (ed.) --- Rajatarangini, Eng. Tr. with introduction and notes by M. A. Stein, 2 Vols, London, West Minister, 1900, Indian edition, Moti Lal Banarasi Das, Delhi, 1961.
5. Mirza Saif-ud-Din --- Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, Urdu Translation by Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Shaeda, Delhi, 1974.
6. Mirza Haidar Dughlat --- Tarikh-i-Rashidi (d. 1551) English Translation by E. Den Denison Ross with notes by Ney Elias, London, 1895.

Selected Engoish Works:

1. Amir Ali --- The Spirit of Islam, London, 1922.
2. A. M. Mattoo --- Kashmir Under the Mughals, 1988.
3. A. Q. Rafiqi --- Sufism in Kashmir, 14th century to 16th century, Delhi.
4. A. A. Fyzee --- Outline of Muhammadan Law, Delhi, 1974.
5. Binode Kumar Sahay --- Education and Learning Under Great Mughal, Bombay
6. B. A. Lamu and Patuna Heeren --- Women in Islam, IInd Edition, 1983.
7. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe --- Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade, Lahore, 1922.
8. Carl Brokelman Cf. C. W. Troll --- History of Islamic Peoples, Islam in India, New Delhi, 1982.
9. D. C. Sharma --- Kashmir Under the Sikhs, New Delhi, 1983.

10. Edward Mortimir -- Faith and Power, 1982.
11. Earnest Neve -- Beyond the Pir Panjal, Lahore, 1915.
- do- -- A Crusade in Kashmir, London, 1928.
12. F. M. Husnain -- Heritage of Kashmir, Gulshan Publication, 1980.
13. G. M. D. Sufi -- Kashmir, 2 Vols, Lahore, 1948-1949.
14. Ghulam Hasan Khan -- Freedom Movement in Kashmir, New Delhi, 1980.
15. Ghulam Hasan Khan -- The Kashmiri Musalman, Srinagar, 1973.
16. Hari Om -- Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir.
17. Indu Banga -- Agrarian system of the Sikhs, New Delhi, 1978.
18. James Fergusson -- History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2 Vols, London, 1910.
19. John Woodroffee -- An Intreduction to Tantra, Sastra, Madras, 1980.
20. J. Duke -- Kashmir Handbook, 1910.
21. J. Hastings -- Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, London, 1921.
22. K. M. Ashraf -- Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan 2nd Edition, New Delhi, 1970.
23. L. S. S. O'Malley -- Modern India and the West, London, 1968.

24. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf --- Kashmir Fight for Freedom, Vol. I (1st Edition), Lahore, 1977.
25. Muhibbul Hassan --- Kashmir Under the Sultans.
26. Majid Ali Khan --- Muhammad the First Messenger, 1980.
27. M. I. Khan --- History of Srinagar, Srinagar, 1978.
28. N. N. Law --- Promotion of Learning in India.
29. Prem Nath Bazaz --- History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir, Cultural and political from the earliest times, New Delhi, 1954.
- do--- Inside Kashmir, 1941.
- do--- Daughters of Vitasta, Delhi, 1959.
30. P. N. K. Bamzai --- A History of Kashmir, Political Social and Cultural, From the Earliest Times to the present day, Delhi, 1962.
31. P. N. Ojha --- Climpes of Social Life in Mughal India, New Delhi, 1973.
32. Qayammu'd-Din Ahmad --- The Wahabi Movement in India, Calcutta, 1966.
33. R. C. Kak --- Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, Delhi, 1971.
34. R. Nathan --- A Hundred Years of British Empire, London, 1947.
35. R. K. Parmu --- A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir (1320-1819), New York, 1954, Reprinted, 1964.

36. S. Maqbool Ahmad -- Historical Geography of Kashmir, 1984.
37. S. Sinha -- Kashmir the Play Ground of Asia, Allahabad, 1942.
38. S. M. Iqbal and K. L. Nirash -- The Culture of Kashmir, Marwah Publication, 1978, Delhi.
39. S. M. Jaffar -- Education in Muslim India, 1930.
40. S. L. Seru -- History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State (1872-1973), Delhi.
41. S. M. Iqbal -- Jammu and Kashmir Research Biannual, Srinagar, 1976, Vol. I.
42. Suresh Chandra Banerji -- Cultural Heritage of Kashmir, Calcutta, 1965.
43. Tara Chand -- History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I, II, Delhi, 1967.
44. Thomas Petrick Hughes -- A Dictionary of Islam.
45. V. M. Apte -- Vedic Rituals, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1970.
46. W. R. Lawrence, -- The Valley of Kashmir, Srinagar, 1967.
47. William Moorcraft -- Travels in Himalayan Province of Hindustan and the Punjab (2 Vols), New Delhi, Reprint, 1971.
48. Y. B. Mathur -- Growth of Muslim Politics in India, Delhi, 1979.

Selected Urdu Works:

1. Allama Iqbal --- Bal-i-Jabriel, 1984.
2. Anjuman-i-Tabligul-Islam --- Al-Aitiqad, 1985.
3. Anjuman-i-Nasrat-ul-Islam --- 1981, Khasusi Shumara.
4. Anjuman-Nusrat-ul-Islam --- Sir Saiyid-i-Kashmir
5. Aziz Ahmad Qureshi -- Asrar-i-Kashmir, 1857.
6. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din -- Tohfa-i-Mahbubi, Lahore, 1949.
7. Ghulam Mohammad & Noor Mohammad --- Khatmat Miwaja Kashmir.
8. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din -- Kashmir Maen Samaji Aur Saqafati Tabdiliayn, Srinagar, 1978.
9. J&K Cultural Academy -- Shiraza, 1984.
10. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab --- Tawhid Kay Hay.
11. Muhammad Maqbool -- Nayir-i-Azam, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam.
12. Moulvi Muhammad Yehya -- Halat-o-Ro-e-Dad, 1951.
13. Muhammad Ismail Gajranwala -- Rasool-i-Akram Ke Nimaz., Delhi, 1984.
14. Maulana Hali --- Musadas Hali
15. Mirwaiz Ahmad Ullah -- Ahl-i-Hadith Kai Nisbat, 1921.
16. Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq -- Tarikh-i-Aqwami-Kashmir, 1910.

17. S. A. A. Nadvi --- Tarikh-i-Dawat-e-Azimat, Lakhnow, 1979.
18. Shiraza Lal Ded Number -- July 18th November-December, 1979.
19. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah --- Aatish-i-Chinar, 1986.
20. Saiyid Hamid Ali -- Tawhid Kay Amlī Taqazay, Delhi, 1978.
21. Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani -- Ganyet-i-Talibin, 1987.
22. Khan, Bahadur Shaikh Magbool Husain -- Jamia Masjid, 1916, The owner of this book is Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Shaeda.
23. Kashmiri Panditan -- Marasila Kashmiri Panditan, 1872.
24. Sofi Muslim Ahmad -- Jamiat Ahl-i-Hadis Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi, 1984.

Kashmiri

1. Asad Aafaqi -- Aiyeeana-i-Haq.
2. A. R. Nazki -- Kulyat-i-Nadim, Jammu and Kashmir Cultural Academy, II Edition, 1985.
3. Muhammad Abdullah -- Neer-posh
4. Moulvi Abdul Gani -- Khatizat-ul-Kubra, 1973.
5. -do- -- Anjuman-i-Gurba-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Zaldagar, Sgr.
- 6., M. Y. Teng -- 'Gulrez' J&K, Cultural Academy, 1985.
7. J&K Cultural Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar --- Kashur Encyclopaedia, 1986.

News Papers:

1. Khalid--Srinagar;
2. Muslim;
3. Noor-Srinagar;
4. Srinagar Times, Srinagar.

Official Reports:

Census of India, Reports in Jammu and Kashmir State, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1961, 1981.

Interviews:

Besides, I have conducted interviews with the following contemporaries of the periods:-

1. Mir Gh. Rasool Nazki, (Ex-Director Radio Kashmir, Srinagar).
2. Master Gh. Ahmad Zuhra, (Collector and jujavir of Khanqah-i-Mulla).
3. Mohd Amin Farooqi, (Hazratbal, Srinagar).
4. Haji Ghulam Muhammad Alias Niama Zakura Hazratbal.
5. Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Shaeda (Mutwali of Makhdoom Sahib Shrine).
6. Muma Haji (mujavir of Aishmuqam shrine).
7. Master Ghulam Nabi (Chrar-i-Sharif).
8. Maulana Muhammad Saiyid Masoodi (Ganderbal, Srinagar).

=====